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CHIEF HISTORY MASTER

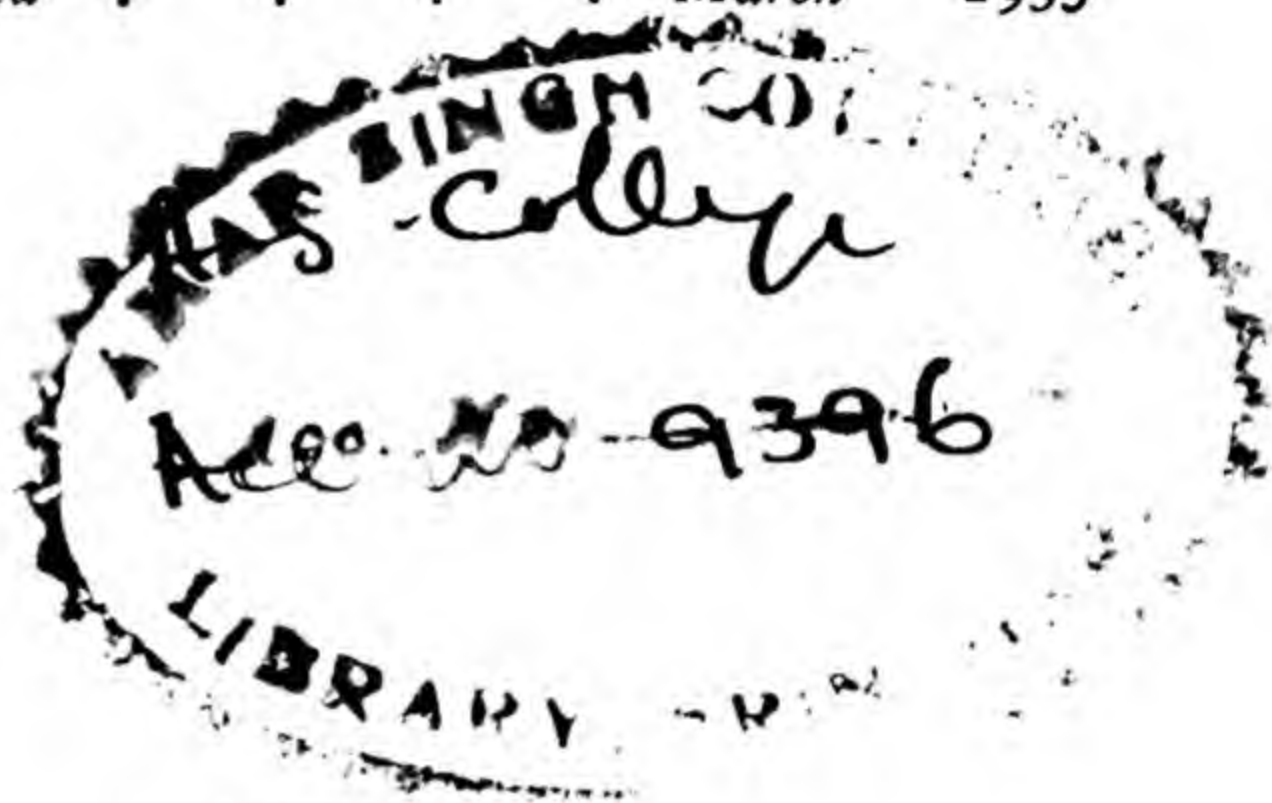
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PREFACE

THIS volume, like the others of the series of which it forms a part, is designed primarily as a text-book for candidates for the First School Examination. The particular form of the subject-matter is the direct outcome of the author's preparation of such candidates during a number of years. In this connection three features of the book call for notice.

First, though the general order is necessarily chronological, a topical treatment has also been adopted wherever this seemed advisable. Second, relatively only a few subjects have been dealt with somewhat lengthily rather than a large number cursorily. Third, notes or chapter-summaries have purposely been omitted, because the aim of the writer is not to save pupils the trouble of thinking but to put into their hands a book so arranged that they can use it for themselves: hence the subject-divisions within each chapter have been carefully selected and the headings collected in the contents list.

As far as the scope of the book allows, the social and religious as well as the political aspects of national life have received attention, and emphasis has been laid not merely upon facts but upon the meaning of facts by showing how particular events were related to one another and to the general features of the period. Military events have never been included for their own sake: their details are given only when essential to an understanding of contemporary policy.

Further aids to study are the Time Charts at the end

of the volume and the maps. The latter—for the preparation of which the author is indebted, as in his *Europe Since the Renaissance*, to the enthusiastic co-operation of his colleague, Mr. D. R. Hill—are intended to illustrate boldly the main geographical features of the subject-matter, and every detail irrelevant to that purpose has been omitted. The necessity for the regular study of a good historical atlas along with the text-book can hardly be exaggerated.

The author hopes that these features will be conducive to an intelligent grasp of the subject and to successful examination-preparation—two objects which may be less widely separated than we are apt sometimes to suppose.

S. R. B.

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THE TUDORS

HENRY VII	1485-1509
HENRY VIII	1509-1547
EDWARD VI	1547-1553
MARY I	1553-1558
ELIZABETH	.	.	.	.	1558-1603

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION : CHARACTERISTICS OF THE NEW AGE

THE beginning of the Tudor Dynasty, in the person of Henry VII, marked the opening of a new age in the story of England. The transition was further emphasized by its coincidence in time with the dawning of a new age in Europe generally. Yet, in thinking of the changes foreshadowed in 1485, we must beware of drawing the conclusion that there was a clean break from the England that had gone before ; on the contrary, several of the great movements of the fourteenth century had far-reaching effects, and, indeed, reached their culmination in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. We shall do well, therefore, at the outset of our study to consider briefly, first, what were those elements of the previous age that were to influence the new one ; second, what were to be the characteristics of the new ; and, third, in what way these new features were strengthened by their counterpart on the Continent.

I. ENGLAND BEFORE THE TUDORS

During the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, prior to the enthronement of Henry VII, there were three events especially which were to affect life in Tudor England. These were the Hundred Years' War, the Black Death, and the Wars of the Roses.

Hundred Years' War, 1338-1453.

The Hundred Years' War between England and France, though it brought no territorial gain commensurate with the ambitions of either Edward III or Henry V—at its close only Calais remained to remind England of the former possessions of her kings across the Channel—brought to the English people results far more valuable than land. Though there were periods during the "Hundred Years" when the fighting ceased, still during that long century the attention of the kings was turned so continuously overseas that they had no opportunity to extend their power at home. Moreover, no matter how keen their desire to assert their personal influence in English government, their dependence upon Parliament for the maintenance of supplies for the War forbade their quarrelling with that body. Hence the supremacy which Parliament had won under Henry III (Simon de Montfort's Parliament, 1265) and Edward I (Model Parliament, 1295, and *Confirmatio Cartarum*, 1297) was maintained and extended, especially in matters relating to money, during the Hundred Years' War and was to be of the highest value during the following period of both Tudors and Stuarts.

A further effect of the War was that, more than any other one event, it promoted among Englishmen of all ranks a sense of common nationality. The English monarchs fought not as vassals of the king of France but as kings of England. Until the middle of the fourteenth century, the tie between the English nobles and France was very close: even the language they spoke was a kind of degenerate French. But as the War proceeded, everything French came to be regarded as pertaining to the enemy. During the struggle the kings relied upon the support of every class of their subjects, not least upon that of the archers who were drawn from the common people. Increasingly, the War was regarded as one between England and France. Thus, though after the

middle of the fifteenth century England had almost no territory over the Channel, she had become so welded into a conscious nation-state as to be fit to take her place in competition with the national monarchies which at the same time were emerging in Europe. Here, in no small measure, lies the explanation of the part England was to play in those foreign relationships which culminated in the defeat of the Armada in 1588.

Black Death, 1348-1350.

An event very different in kind from the Hundred Years' War, but not less far-reaching in its results, was the Black Death, the immediate effect of which was that approximately one-half of the population of England died. The great lords were thus bereft of half their labourers and—as the wealth of a lord consisted of the labour which he could command for tilling his demesne and for which he paid by grants of land—they were consequently suddenly reduced to serious economic straits. The villeins who remained were not slow to grasp the situation: they took advantage of the circumstances in order to demand higher remuneration and, more important still, the breaking of the villeinage ties whereby each man was bound to his lord's manor. Statutes of Labourers, passed in an attempt to control the situation, proved futile. The lords and Parliament were dealing with economic laws of whose operation they had no glimmering of an understanding. The villeins did break away and become free, receiving their wages in money instead of in land, and paying rent in money instead of in labour. In short, the manorial system, which had been the very basis of English social life, collapsed entirely.

Before long, however, the lords were doing exactly what, in principle, a modern industrialist would do if faced with an increased wages bill: they adopted what in effect was a labour-saving device. They ceased to till their soil, turning arable land into pasture land on which they raised

sheep for wool. Soon, experience showed the wool trade to be highly lucrative, and the tendency became more and more marked for landowners to enclose almost all their land for sheep-rearing. The effect was that an estate which formerly had needed most of the men of the village for its cultivation now employed only a very few men aided by sheep-dogs. Thus the balance between labour and land was more than readjusted, and considerable numbers of men found themselves without work. While this was proceeding, another process also was taking place. So profitable was sheep-rearing that the lords grew greedy for land that could be adapted to that purpose, and when they enclosed their estates they were not always too careful to adhere to their own boundaries. In consequence, serious encroachments were made upon the village common-land, and the labourers were thereby deprived of valuable grazing rights.

Thus, with the reduction of wages and the danger of unemployment on the one hand, and the reduction of a contributory means of sustenance on the other, the labourers found themselves often in a precarious economic position. Their distress found expression in unrest and, from time to time, in revolts. Later, as poverty became more widespread and serious, some provision had to be made for its relief. Examples in Tudor times of each of these ultimate results of the Black Death were the revolts that contributed to Somerset's fall in Edward VI's reign and the Poor Law of Elizabeth's.

Wars of the Roses, 1455-1485.

The event which actually opened the way for Henry Tudor's accession to the throne in 1485 was the faction-fight, dignified by the title of "Wars of the Roses", from which he emerged as victor. The immediate effect of that War upon the mass of English men and women was small. The nation as a whole was not actively concerned in what was only family rivalry unrelieved by any question of

political or other principle. But, though no political principle was directly at issue, the Wars of the Roses nevertheless had deep and lasting effects upon the state.

Their outstanding effect was a great increase in the power of the Crown. This arose in two ways. On the one hand the nobles were weakened by a decrease in their numbers through casualties in battle—though this must not be exaggerated, for many of those who were killed had heirs to succeed them—and, still more, by the royal confiscation of the estates of enemy partisans. On the other hand, the King was enriched by those confiscated estates and was greatly strengthened by the discontent felt among the mass of the people on account of the factious barons: for this disorder there seemed only one remedy, namely, a king strong enough to suppress both parties with an even hand; so that, whereas formerly the people had looked to the barons to secure justice against a tyrannical king, now they looked for a king to secure peace against disorderly barons.

2. THE TUDORS

Desire for Peace.

The main task confronting the new dynasty should now be plain: it was to restore good order and sound government to the state. The deep desire of the mass of the people for peace explains the constitutional character of the Tudor period. During nearly three centuries, with certain intermissions, Englishmen had been struggling—successfully, on the whole—to limit the power of the King so that the King should govern not according to his personal wish or in his private interest but according to recognized rules of the State and to the wish of the people as expressed in Parliament. In brief, the struggle was for constitutional government. But in 1485 there was, if not a deeper, at least a more urgent need even than this: so earnest was the general desire for peace, that any king who showed

promise of achieving and maintaining that object was not likely to be restricted in the exercise of his governmental authority. Herein lay the root explanation of the personal power of the Tudor monarchs. And herein also—if a glance still further ahead be permitted at this point—lay the real explanation of the people's discontent with the Stuarts who followed; for, after the Tudors had secured peace for the land, the people once more turned their attention towards recovering constitutional rights which they had allowed temporarily to lapse.

Character of Tudors.

Yet however widespread was the willingness to trust the King, and however well-intentioned the new line of monarchs might have been, if these had not possessed exactly the particular qualities of mind and character that the crisis demanded, no one can predict what the outcome might have been. Fortunately for England and fortunately for the Tudors, the latter proved to be indeed the "men of the moment". The personal popularity of the Tudors, though not always easy to trace, was certainly a very real factor. Every one of the five Tudor monarchs was a popular national figure able to conjure the nation to its will. This was true, as the sequel will show, even of Mary until by blind obstinacy she seemed deliberately to alienate her people. But the Tudors were not mere attractive figure-heads in the State: they were men and women of amazing intellectual ability, being musicians, and linguists of an order that was extraordinary for their own age and would not have shamed scholars of the ages that succeeded. This scholarship was the more remarkable in that it did not cramp their general outlook or cause them to lose touch with men and women at large. We shall see not a few instances of how the Tudors, pursuing a course contrary to the will of the nation, seemed to sense intuitively how far they could wisely go and seemed to know exactly how to give way not only graciously but

so as to impress the nation with their benevolent goodwill for the interests of the state. To this general rule, Mary was certainly a marked exception ; but as her reign occupied only five years out of the total of one hundred and twenty, she serves but to throw up the general truth into higher relief.

Of the moral character of the Tudors, a less satisfactory account has to be given. Generally, they showed no noble adherence to lofty principle. On the contrary, they were impelled by nothing higher than enlightened opportunism. Yet, in combination with their other personal qualities in the particular circumstances of the time, this very lack of moral scruples was conducive to the success of their reigns.

Hitherto we have been concerned with the Tudors' relationship to England in the narrower sense, that is in her domestic affairs only. But during the second half of the fifteenth century events outside England were so shaping themselves that the King of England would need a foreign policy for his country in a sense that none of his predecessors had needed one. To understand why this was so, we need some knowledge of the circumstances of Europe generally. This leads us to the third of the main aims of our survey, namely, to the question of how conditions in England found their counterpart on the Continent.

3. FIFTEENTH-CENTURY EUROPE

Middle Ages.

In order to obtain the right point of view, we have to go back a long way in the history of Europe. After the overwhelming of the Roman Empire in the sixth century by successive barbarian invasions, much of the knowledge which had been common among both Greeks and Romans gradually died out, and the whole of Europe settled down to a general condition of ignorance. Even nobles frequently

could not write or even read. The clergy were the only class who could make any pretence of education, and that usually meant merely that they could read and write: indeed, a significant indication of the general level of ignorance was that any man who did possess those accomplishments was reckoned as a cleric. The language in which the clergy wrote was Latin, and the common language of scholars, as they passed from university to university, was also Latin, though usually of a degenerate type.

Such a statement of the "darkness" of the Middle Ages is—like every other generalization—capable of exaggeration. Here and there, and from time to time, the gloom was pierced by points of light. A name like that of Roger Bacon is sufficient to show that neither knowledge nor the desire for knowledge was entirely extinguished. The same moral is pointed by the superb combination of imagination and skill shown in the architecture of cathedrals and castles erected during the twelfth to the fifteenth centuries. Still, when all possible weight has been given to these facts, the general truth remains that the Middle Ages in Europe were times of ignorance and mental lethargy, and that until about the year A.D. 1000 they may justifiably be called "dark".

Fall of Constantinople, 1453.

Perhaps the most serious aspect of this prevailing ignorance was that Europe had lost touch with Greek literature. No one, even the clergy, west of Constantinople could read Greek, so that what acquaintance with Greek books did exist was maintained only through Latin translations and these were not infrequently translations of Arabic versions. The effect was not merely that Europe lost the knowledge of facts that had been known to the ancient world but that she lost the spirit that had animated the Greeks, the spirit, that is, of investigation and inquiry, of putting truth to the test and of retaining only what

stood the test. In contrast to these conditions prevailing throughout western Europe during the Middle Ages, Constantinople, the capital of the former eastern Roman Empire, had remained a centre of scholarship. It contained libraries of Greek manuscripts which were studied and understood. From the opening of the fifteenth century there had begun an increasing intercourse between Constantinople and the courts of the Italian princes who were true patrons of learning for its own sake. As the century advanced and the pressure of the Turks from Asia Minor upon Constantinople became more and more insistent, the scholars from the east began to move away ; and when finally, in 1453, the city fell, there was a wholesale exodus of the scholars who took with them as many of their precious manuscripts as they could gather and made for the cities of Italy, where they were certain of a welcome. The effect was that once more the learned class of Europe was brought into direct touch with Greek literature and Greek ideas. The consequent movement, to which the fall of Constantinople gave a distinct impetus, though the movement itself had started some time earlier, was indeed a Renaissance—a “ re-birth ”—not merely of knowledge of Greek but still more of the mental alertness with which the Greeks had held their knowledge.

Printing Invented.

Fortunately, earlier in the century, the one invention necessary to promote and spread this “ New Learning ” had been made by John Gutenberg who, about 1440, had begun to use movable type for printing. The effect was to accelerate and cheapen the production of books almost beyond comparison with the former method of copying by hand. Hence, books became available for every class of people able to read them, and the Renaissance began to infect every sphere of life and of thought. Whatever men were already concerned with, they began to inquire into and develop.

Maritime Explorations.

One of the first spheres to be thus influenced was that of seafaring. During the Middle Ages the prevailing idea was that the earth was flat, though the Greek conception of a spherical earth was known to a minority of thinkers. The result was that sailors, imagining that a flat earth must have an edge, feared to topple over into the bottomless abyss: in consequence they hugged the coast in all their voyaging. But in the latter part of the fifteenth century, sailors began to break from their traditional methods and to explore for themselves. In this they were helped by the mariner's compass which, although its properties had been known for a century and a half, was only then coming into common use. Emboldened by its guidance, the sailors gradually worked their way southwards along the west coast of Africa; and at last, in 1486, the Portuguese, Bartholomew Diaz, rounded the Cape of Good Hope. In 1492 Columbus, seeking a western route to the East Indies, pushed across the Atlantic and thought he had achieved his aim, though in reality he had touched the islands to be known in consequence as the West Indies. Meanwhile, the work of Diaz had been further improved upon, and in 1497 another Portuguese, Vasco da Gama, had sailed round the Cape, up the east coast of Africa as far as Mombasa and thence, striking direct across the ocean, had reached Calicut in India, which he reached in 1498. The year 1497 saw the discovery of Newfoundland and the North American mainland by John and Sebastian Cabot, who were Venetians in the pay of Henry VII of England. Succeeding years saw the work of these pioneers carried further by such voyages as that of still another Portuguese, Magellan, whose ship circumnavigated the globe (1519-1522). This sketch of the voyages of exploration has taken us well beyond the end of the reign of the first Tudor.

To follow the other great movements resulting from the

Renaissance spirit—namely, the outburst in literature and art, and the Reformation in religion—would take us still further, and we must therefore postpone our treatment of the Reformation until we reach the reign of Henry VIII of England.

Nation-States.

One factor of fifteenth-century European politics, not directly resulting from the Renaissance, needs to be made clear if Tudor relations with the Continent are to be understood. Throughout the Middle Ages there had been in Europe an office known as the Holy Roman Empire which, though once conferring power on its holder, who thus became overlord of the rulers of the individual states, had by the end of the fifteenth century become little more than a nominal dignity. For this, the chief reason was that recent years had been marked by the growth of strong, compact nation-states ruled by national monarchs. We have seen this process at work in England as one result of the Hundred Years' War.¹ That War had a similar effect in France through the common resistance—initiated by Joan of Arc—to a common foe. In Spain the various provinces were brought together by the marriage in 1469 of Ferdinand of Aragon and Isabella of Castile, and by the expulsion of the Moors from Granada in southern Spain in 1492. It was therefore no mere coincidence that one of the primary aims of each of these two continental nations—France and Spain—during the early sixteenth century was to secure the alliance of the third national state—England—or that the trend of contemporary politics was to be determined by the attitude England adopted to their advances.

It was in the midst of this change and welter in Europe that the first of the Tudors ascended the English throne in 1485.

¹ Above, section 1.

CHAPTER II

HENRY VII, 1485-1509

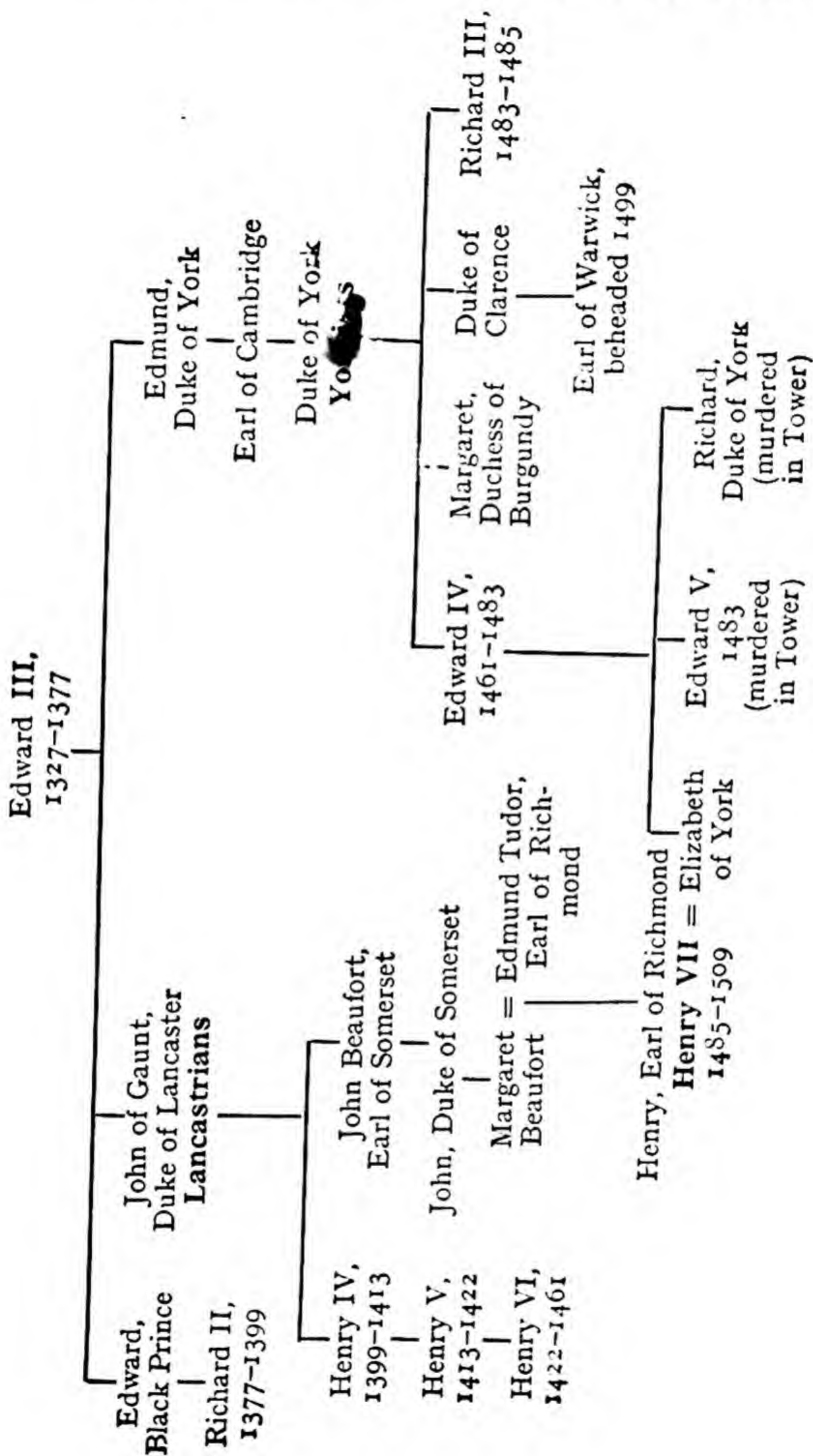
THE sketch, given in the introductory chapter, of the political and social condition of Europe, and particularly of England, has shown what were the tasks facing Henry Tudor when he ascended the throne. In the main, those tasks were to restore order and good government at home and to adjust England to active relationship with the new forces at work on the Continent. These, therefore, will be the two lines we shall follow in this chapter.

Within his own dominions there were three sources of disorder with which Henry had to deal, namely, pretenders to the throne, the over-powerful barons, and Ireland. We deal with them in that order.

I. PRETENDERS TO THE THRONE

Henry's Title to Throne.

Henry's own position as king was, in the opening years of the reign, precarious in the extreme. Of claims by hereditary right he had none that would bear the slightest investigation. The accompanying table shows that Henry was a descendant of the younger, that is, the Beaufort, branch of John of Gaunt's family. But, since the Beauforts were illegitimate descendants of Gaunt, an Act of Parliament had expressly excluded them from the throne. Hence, Henry could not claim the throne by hereditary right; nor dare he urge the only real claim that he did possess, namely, right of conquest, for to do so would



alienate men of all shades of opinion. It was therefore entirely in keeping with his own character, and, indeed, with that of his descendants, that he should waive any question of right and should be content with a declaratory Act of Parliament which enacted that "the inheritance of the crowns of England and of France rest remain and abide in the most loyal person of our new sovereign lord King Henry VII", no reasons being stated why it should so "rest remain and abide".

This position Henry strengthened by his marriage, in January, 1486, with the daughter of Edward IV, Elizabeth of York; for she had the best extant hereditary right to the throne. This did not make Henry's own right any stronger, but it did nevertheless fortify his hold on the throne in two respects. First, it reconciled many Yorkists to the new Lancastrian king. Second, those Yorkists who remained discontented would have great difficulty in finding a weapon effective enough to dislodge him: the ordinary method of doing so would be to rebel in favour of some other claimant; but, as the best claimant was the Queen who was the representative of the Yorkist party, to try to instal another Yorkist with claims inferior to hers would be absurdly illogical. This naturally brings us to the question of the Pretenders.

Lambert Simnel.

The Yorkists were certainly not content to accept Henry's accession without demur. Nor was there any reason for thinking that he could not be ejected. Actually, Henry owed his crown to the mere fact that in a skirmish, in which a few thousand men were engaged, his rival, Richard III, was killed. Adequate preparation and skilled leadership might suffice to reverse that result. But in whose name should the rising take place? The only solution, since the best claimant was sharing Henry's throne, was that someone should be found to impersonate an individual who would have a better claim still. This is

the fundamental explanation of the pretensions of Lambert Simnel and Perkin Warbeck.

Simnel, who was the son of an Oxford shopkeeper, was put forward as the Earl of Warwick, son of the Duke of Clarence. Unfortunately for the rebels, Henry had seized the real Earl of Warwick immediately after the Battle of Bosworth and had imprisoned him in the Tower. Henry therefore made the obvious reply to the Pretender: he had the Earl paraded round the streets of London. Nevertheless, the Yorkists in Ireland, which was far enough from London not to be unduly influenced by this move, raised forces for their claimant and sent him across to England in June, 1487, with six thousand men. But, as many of these were foreign mercenaries, they did the cause in England more harm than good. The English Yorkists failed to rally to the standard, and Simnel's following diminished rather than grew as he proceeded. At Stoke, near Newark, his force was smashed by the King's troops and Simnel himself was taken prisoner. The insurrection had never been really dangerous, and Henry showed his contempt both for the cause it represented and for its nominal leader by not troubling even to punish Simnel but by making him a scullion in the royal kitchen.

The effect of the rebellion was to make the King's position stronger than before. The Yorkists had struck and failed, thereby raising Henry's prestige still further. Moreover, a number of the Yorkists were killed in the battle and their property was consequently confiscated by the King.

Perkin Warbeck.

The good order which Henry VII restored, and the measures taken to secure uniform justice, made the English content with his rule and diminished the chances of Yorkist partisans. But outside England there were various groups disaffected towards Henry. This was notably true of Ireland which the Yorkists had always made a centre of their schemings. France and Scotland were both hereditary

enemies of England and were only too anxious to encourage anyone likely to embarrass its king. But the chief enemy of Henry was Margaret, Duchess of Burgundy, sister of Edward IV, and therefore one of the leaders of the Yorkist party. These people found in Perkin Warbeck, who was a Fleming engaged in the silk trade, a likely young man for their purposes. Warbeck was put forward as Richard, Duke of York, younger brother of Edward V, and hence the younger of the two princes killed in the Tower in 1483. He was evidently of a very different calibre from Simnel: for eleven years he maintained his opposition to Henry, during which time he visited the courts of France and Burgundy and received ambassadors from several other royal houses.

Warbeck's claims were first published in Ireland in 1492. Thence he passed to France, where he was received as King of England by Charles VIII. During the same year, however, a commercial agreement—the Treaty of Étaples—was made between Henry and Charles, one of its provisions being that the Pretender should be ejected from France. Thence he made for Burgundy, where his "aunt", the Duchess Margaret, welcomed him and recognized him as her "nephew"! Thereafter, for several years Warbeck was encouraged by Margaret and by Maximilian I the Emperor. In 1495 an attempt was made to effect a landing in Kent, but the expedition was easily repulsed, and those followers of Warbeck who were captured were mercilessly executed.

The next base of operations was Scotland, where the Pretender was so warmly welcomed that James IV gave him his cousin, Lady Catherine Gordon, in marriage. In 1496 James crossed the frontier and raided the north of England, but was easily repulsed. The raid had, however, an unlooked-for effect in another direction. Henry used the threat of invasion as an excuse for raising money. To this the men of Cornwall objected and an insurrection ensued. They actually marched across the entire south of

England as far as Kent, but in June, 1497, were routed by royal forces at Blackheath. The final plan was that James should invade the North while Warbeck landed in Cornwall. But, after a feeble raid over the frontier, James made peace with Henry. The latter was thus able to concentrate upon Warbeck who, realizing that his chances of success were ended, made for Beaulieu Abbey, where he took sanctuary. At last he surrendered and was placed in the Tower. There he plotted with the Earl of Warwick—who must have appreciated these advances of his “cousin”—to escape. The plot was discovered, and both the plotters were promptly executed (1499).

Thus ended the last of the risings against Henry VII, the result being that he was more strongly established on the throne than ever. The Yorkists had shot their last bolt, and the only possible rival claimant, the Earl of Warwick, was dead.

Statute of *De Facto* King, 1495.

Meanwhile Henry's position on the throne had been strengthened by the passage, in 1495, of the “Statute of the *de facto* King”, which enacted that any person obeying a king *de facto*—that is, the king actually reigning, whether having the legal right to the throne or not—could not be punished by another king who was afterwards recognized as the rightful, *de jure*, king. This statute aimed at securing the adhesion of those waverers who, though personally favouring Henry's cause, were doubtful whether he would be strong enough to maintain himself on the throne against the Yorkist claimants.

2. SUPPRESSION OF THE BARONS

Henry's Methods.

One reason why Henry was able to deal so successfully with the invasion of pretenders from without was that at the same time he was rigorously suppressing all tendencies towards disorder at home. After the long Wars of the

Roses, such tendencies were naturally both numerous and strong. We have seen that the Wars had, in various ways, tended to weaken the baronage; nevertheless the habits of armed restlessness, whereby each noble was a law to himself, were not easily eradicated. To his contemporaries, Henry was but a usurper who would therefore fear to alienate alike his friends, by whose support he had gained the throne, and his enemies, by whose opposition he might lose it. The coming years were to prove that both had equally miscalculated: Henry had no intention of yielding to either friend or foe. With even-handed energy he firmly—and, when necessary, ruthlessly—reduced all alike to a condition of subservience to the Crown. Meanwhile, he built up his own position by amassing a huge fortune through every available means and by collecting around himself a body of able ministers who would obey unquestioningly the king's commands.

Ministers.

This last was characteristic of Henry's methods and was a foreshadowing of future practice. Hitherto the great ministers of state had been either powerful barons or lofty churchmen. The effect had been that, though such ministers had brought a great accession of strength, the Crown had for the same reason been rendered dependent upon them. Henry therefore deliberately chose as his chief ministers men who were of humble birth and who, being consequently dependent upon him, would give their undivided best in his service. These men were rewarded, for the most part, by preferment in the Church—a method which had the additional advantage of being economical for the king's exchequer.

Livery and Maintenance.

In the actual suppression of lawlessness, Henry found one instrument ready to his hand, namely, the Statute of 1484 against Livery and Maintenance.

One of the chief sources of disorder was the practice of the nobles of maintaining retainers wearing the badge and livery of their respective lords. This led to abuses in two directions. First, the meeting of groups of such retainers wearing different badges was almost invariably the signal for a scuffle which might develop into a skirmish of serious proportions. Second, when a lawsuit in a local court involved the appearance of a noble, or of his adherent, he would arrive with his full force of retainers and "maintain" his suit by overawing the court, so that equal justice became impossible: if two nobles were involved, they both brought their retainers, which led to similar corruption of justice and probably, in addition, to more violence. No government could be regarded as the master of its own house while such practices were allowed. Accordingly, in 1484 Richard III had procured an Act which forbade the keeping of armed retainers; but he had not been strong enough to enforce his own legislation. Henry VII, however, did not hesitate to carry out the law. Indifferent alike to the power of the nobles and to the friendship or enmity of particular individuals, Henry set out rigorously to repress the possession of such liveried servants.

Court of Star Chamber.

Yet the example of Richard III had shown that to pass Acts against Livery and Maintenance was one thing, whereas to enforce those Acts might be quite another. The ordinary law-courts had proved themselves inadequate for the purpose. Henry therefore determined to erect an extraordinary court so constituted that it need not fear the mightiest subject in the land.

According, in 1487 an Act established a Court consisting of seven members—the Chancellor, the Treasurer, the Keeper of the Privy Seal, a bishop, a temporal lord, and the two Chief Justices—before whom was to appear anyone breaking the laws against Livery and Maintenance. This Court happened to meet habitually in a room which, from

the star-decorations on the ceiling, was known as the Star Chamber, whence also the Court derived its name. A tribunal with this membership and armed with the special support of the King had no need to fear to impose punishment upon all alike, and certainly it fulfilled its functions. Immense fines were inflicted upon, and collected from, the greatest nobles. For example, no less a person than the Earl of Oxford was fined the prodigious sum of £15,000 (probably equivalent to £200,000 in present value) for keeping retainers. A few such sentences—commencing, it should be noted, within two years of the opening of the reign—sufficed to bring home to the barons the temper of the monarch who had come to reign over them. Very soon the practice, which had been the cause of so much disorder, died out. But the effect of the Star Chamber did not end there. One of the reasons for the common miscarriage of justice had been the pressure which, through armed retainers, local magnates had been able to exert upon the local courts and even upon the judges on circuit. But now that the local courts could be assured of support by the central authority, they became much less subject to unlawful influence, and the result was a marked improvement in the justice dispensed all over the country.

Henry's Wealth.

One of the incidental effects of the sentences of the Star Chamber was that the fines constituted a very considerable source of royal revenue. Soon it became evident that the Court was being manipulated for this very purpose; but, irregular though such a use was, it affected only a small minority of the people, and the nation as a whole had no objection to the King's income being swollen out of the pockets of the wealthy few, since such a method relieved proportionately the amount of the general imposition of taxation.

This same principle Henry pursued in various other directions also. Throughout his reign his practice was to

levy not only heavy fines such as those mentioned above but also forced loans, that is, "loans" which rich men were compelled to make to the King. In this device Henry was admirably served by Cardinal Morton, who became Archbishop of Canterbury, and by the lawyers Sir Richard Empson and Sir Edmund Dudley. Morton died in 1502. Though he had been willing to help the King's financial schemes, he had had a generally moderating influence on royal policy. After his death, Empson and Dudley were able freely to pursue their plans. They raked up old customs and statutes, that had long fallen into desuetude, for the infringement of which excessively heavy fines were extorted. These measures kept the King's exchequer well filled and also, incidentally, were beneficial to the pockets of Empson and Dudley, who became the best-hated men in the kingdom. By such means Henry stored up a great hoard of gold—reputed to have been £2,000,000 at his death, a fabulous sum for those days—which he could expend, if the need arose, to procure men and arms against whatever opposition to his rule might arise, and the accumulation of which he therefore regarded as a chief condition of power.

One word of warning needs to be said regarding Henry's reputation for miserliness. Nothing can disprove the fact of his greed for wealth. In his closing years this greed grew into the meanest avarice. But, on the other hand, it must be remembered that there were noble objects on which Henry did not hesitate to spend liberally. King Henry VII's Chapel at Westminster is a notable instance, and his encouraging of the Cabot expedition is another. Moreover, he was always genuinely interested in music—a characteristic of all the Tudors.

3. IRELAND

Condition of Ireland.

We have seen that the third source of disorder and of persistent embarrassment to Henry VII was Ireland. The

condition of Ireland makes this easy to understand: nominally the whole country was subject to the English king, but in practice his rule was effective only within a narrow strip—known as the *Pale*—along the east coast, including Dublin. Outside that limited area, Ireland could hardly be called civilized: the land itself was mainly undrained bog or untended forest, while the population consisted of wild Irish clans constantly at war with one another and all prepared to fight against any interference from without. The outstanding family was that of Kildare, and under Henry VII the Earl of Kildare was made Deputy—that is, Governor—of Ireland, presumably on the principle of setting a thief to catch thieves.

Poynings' Laws.

The failure of this policy was shown clearly by the hatching in Ireland of Yorkist rebellions against Henry. At last, while Perkin Warbeck was still at large, Henry determined to deal drastically with the situation. He struck, and struck hard, at what he believed to be the root of the trouble: in 1494 the Earl of Kildare was sent as a prisoner to England and his place was taken by a reliable member of the Council, Sir Edward Poynings, who became Lord Deputy of Ireland. Poynings soon justified the choice. He set to work to cure both the temporary and the permanent causes of the English king's weakness in Ireland: he exterminated the Yorkist leaders and also, in 1494, secured the passage in the Irish Parliament of laws which radically altered the relationship of the two countries.

These measures—appropriately known as Poynings' Laws—enacted that no Irish Parliament was to meet or to discuss bills without the consent of the English king, and that all Acts passed in the English Parliament were to be enforced in Ireland. The effect of these Laws was to make the Irish Parliament completely subservient to the English king and Parliament; and they continued in force

until the agitation of Henry Grattan secured their repeal in 1782. In 1496 Kildare was allowed to return to his post of Deputy, and his loyal administration for the remainder of the reign suggests that he had thoroughly learned his lesson. Incidentally the new régime in Ireland explained the failure of Perkin Warbeck to secure help from that country after his abortive raid on Kent in 1495.

4. FOREIGN POLICY

Objects of Policy.

The previous chapter has shown that Henry VII came to the English throne at a moment of unusual crisis in world-history. The relationships which Henry VII established with European powers, at a time when the destinies of those powers was being shaped, was of necessity fateful not only for his own reign but for the future of the nation. Our approach to this section of Henry's work will perhaps be made clearer if the objects he set before him are enumerated at the outset. Of these there were three: to prevent the invasion of England by Yorkist claimants and supporters; to encourage the English wool trade, especially with Flanders; and to break up the traditional Franco-Scottish alliance. The first of these objects was of only passing importance, and we have already incidentally seen something of its achievement. We have therefore now to concentrate upon the other two.

Treaty of Étapes, 1492.

Henry's introduction to foreign politics arose from a quarter not directly connected with either of these two objects. Charles VIII, King of France, was anxious to bring about the incorporation of Brittany with the rest of his dominions, Brittany being ruled by the young Duchess Anne. Neither England nor Spain wished to see French territory consolidated by the inclusion of Brittany. Accordingly, in 1489 Henry of England and Ferdinand of

Spain formed the *Treaty of Medina del Campo* whereby an alliance was arranged between their two countries. The alliance was cemented by the betrothal of Catherine, younger daughter of Ferdinand and Isabella of Spain, with the infant Prince Arthur, the elder son of Henry VII. English troops were then sent over to Brittany to secure the province against French aggression. In order to fit out these troops, Henry had gained a grant of money from Parliament, but as the men were used only for garrison work Henry was able to make a saving on the transaction. Two years later Charles VIII, in order to prevent the consummation of a marriage-alliance that had been made between Maximilian—Archduke of Austria and presumably the next Emperor—and the Duchess Anne, entered Brittany in force and himself married Anne. Henry promptly invaded France and besieged Boulogne, but no real fighting occurred. However, as Charles was planning his invasion of Italy, which actually took place in 1494, and was consequently anxious to buy off his enemy in the north, and as Henry, faced with the accomplished fact of the marriage, was not averse to being bought off, he concluded with Charles the *Treaty of Étaples* (1492), whereby Henry received approximately £150,000 to withdraw from France, and Charles further agreed to expel Perkin Warbeck from his realms. Thus, Henry received a grant from England to make war on France, and a large sum from France to make peace; and at the same time he had arranged for his son a marriage-alliance with Spain which would bring a considerable dowry from the latter country.

Marriage Alliances.

The marriage between Arthur, Prince of Wales and Catherine of Aragon actually took place in 1501. But in April, 1502, within six months of the marriage, Arthur died. A somewhat complicated situation consequently arose: as only part of the agreed dowry had been paid, Henry urged that the balance should be made over to him,

while Ferdinand asked for the return of the instalment already paid! Ultimately agreement was reached on the basis of a marriage between Arthur's young widow Catherine and the new Prince of Wales, Henry—later to become Henry VIII. Marriage between a man and his brother's widow being forbidden by ecclesiastical law, Pope Julius II in 1504 granted a special dispensation. Catherine and Henry were therefore betrothed, though the marriage did not take place until after the accession of Henry VIII.¹

The year 1503 saw yet another of Henry's attempts to carry out projects of foreign policy by means of marriage alliances. This was no less than a marriage between Henry VII's elder daughter Margaret and James IV of Scotland. This alliance was fraught with the greatest of consequences for both England and Scotland. One of the descendants of the marriage was Mary Queen of Scots, who was such a constant embarrassment to Elizabeth and whose execution was one of the causes of the sailing of the Armada. Also, James, son of the same Mary of Scots, became James I of England, thus paving the way for the final achievement of one of Henry VII's pet schemes, namely, the union of the crowns of England and Scotland.

Intercursus Magnus.

The really distinctive feature of Henry VII's foreign policy was that relating to Flanders and the wool trade. It was no mean thing that, as early as the dawn of the sixteenth century, an English king should make the commercial prosperity of his country one of the primary objects of his policy. In the previous chapter we have seen that the chief source of English wealth was sheep-farming. Yet only a small proportion of the wool produced was manufactured into cloth in England. The greater part was exported to Flanders. The Flemings, knowing that England was dependent upon them for the disposal of this wool, levied heavy duties upon its import. Henry VII,

¹ Chapter III, Section 1.

however, was quick to grasp the fact that the Flemings needed to buy English wool as much as the English needed to sell it to them. He therefore stopped the export of wool direct to Flanders and then insisted that all wool exported from England should pass through Calais, which was still an English possession. This meant that the Flemings would lose their revenue from customs duties and would have the inconvenience of travelling to Calais and of transporting back home the wool they had bought.

At the same time a separate set of political circumstances was combining with the commercial to induce Flanders to make terms with England. In 1494 Charles VIII of France carried out his design to invade Italy. So successful was this expedition that the rest of Europe became alarmed, the Pope chief of all. Consequently a League, consisting of the Pope, Maximilian the Emperor, Ferdinand of Spain, Venice and Milan, was formed against France. The League, anxious to obtain the adhesion of Henry VII, induced Philip of Flanders to make terms with him. The result was the *Intercursus Magnus* of 1496. Its terms provided that there should be free trade between England and Flanders, that each country should open its courts to the merchants of the other, and that both should combine to suppress piracy. The immediate effect of this treaty was to bring England into a closer commercial relationship with the Continent than she had ever previously enjoyed. Its later effect was to promote cloth manufacture in England.

Intercursus Malus, 1506.

Ten years later an unlooked-for opportunity was seized upon by Henry to press his advantage still further. In 1506 the Archduke Philip, the ruler of Flanders, was on his way to Spain where his wife Joanna had succeeded her mother Isabella as ruler of Castile. Bad weather forced Philip into Weymouth harbour, and Henry VII did not scruple to use the Archduke's temporary adversity in order

to extort from him still more favourable terms for English traders, these terms being so severe that the Flemings, parodying the name of the previous agreement, dubbed them *Intercursus Malus*.

Mediterranean Trade.

Less important than the trade agreements with Flanders, but of considerable interest of its own, was Henry VII's promotion of English trade in the Mediterranean. The Italian states were anxious to secure English wool at favourable rates. Finally, in 1490, Henry VII signed a treaty whereby Pisa became the English staple town for the import of wool into Italy ; in return, English merchants were to have privileges of residence and self-government in Pisa. This appears to be the first attempt to establish regular trading relationships between England and the Mediterranean.

Navigation Act.

One other item of Henry's commercial policy was his promotion of English shipping. For this purpose he secured the passage of a Navigation Act which forbade the import of certain classes of goods—notably wine from France—except in English ships. The result was that English shippers built ships on an increasingly large scale to meet the new opportunities. This measure was, indeed, typical of the contribution that Henry made to the political and economic life of England. By the close of his reign he had transformed his realm from a divided and isolated state into a united nation with firm foundations already laid for the maritime and commercial development of the succeeding century. Thus Henry VIII, when he succeeded his father in 1509, found the way thoroughly prepared for his ambitious schemes of European conquest and for his work at home which entitles him to be called the " founder of the English Navy ".

CHAPTER III

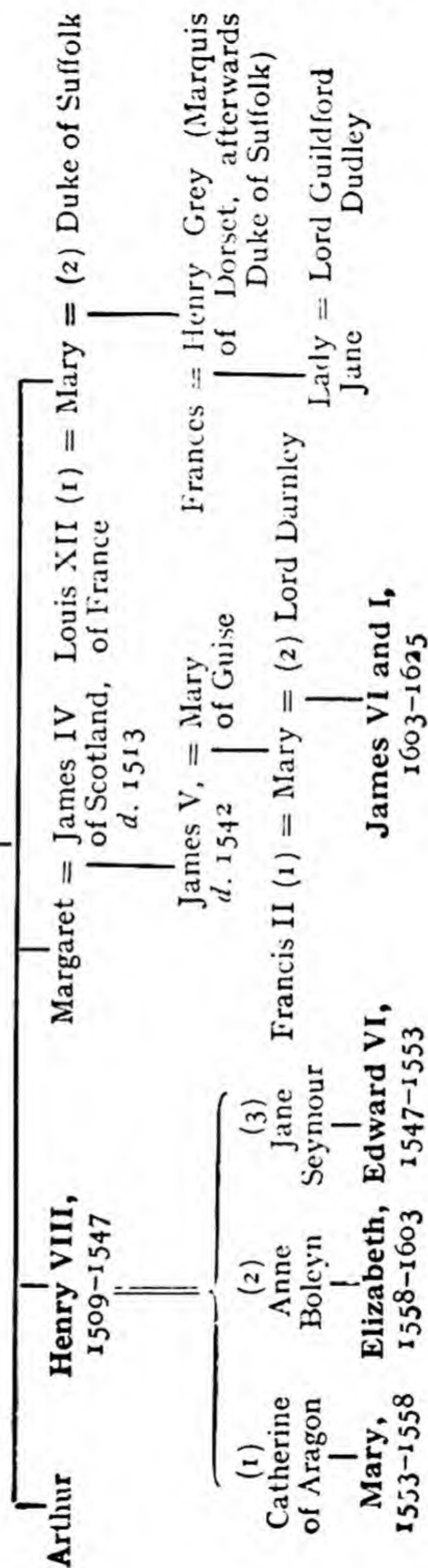
HENRY VIII AND WOLSEY, 1509-1529

DURING the reign of Henry VIII we become aware of a breadth of view and movement new in English politics. Events at home became entangled with and influenced by events abroad to a degree hitherto unknown. Further, as the early sixteenth century was a period during which large issues were at stake on the Continent, England felt the reaction—political, religious, and social—of a life larger than any she had experienced, so that, shaken out of her small island seclusion, she began to play a decisive part in European affairs. Consequently, to distinguish sharply between the domestic and the foreign events of Henry VIII's reign is impossible. Nevertheless, the reign does divide itself broadly into two periods, namely, 1509-1530 and 1530-1547. The first of these was an experimental period during which Henry was concerned chiefly with events abroad and was largely influenced in his policy by Wolsey: the fall of Wolsey in 1529 and his death in 1530 therefore marked the end of this section of the reign. The second period was dominated by the religious changes initiated by the King. Henry's divorce from Catherine of Aragon, being the immediate cause both of the fall of Wolsey and of Henry's anti-Papal quarrel which opened the way for the break from Rome, is thus the link between the two periods.

The present Chapter is concerned with Henry VIII and Wolsey, and Chapter IV with Henry and the Reformation.

THE HOUSE OF TUDOR

Henry VII = Elizabeth of York
1485-1509



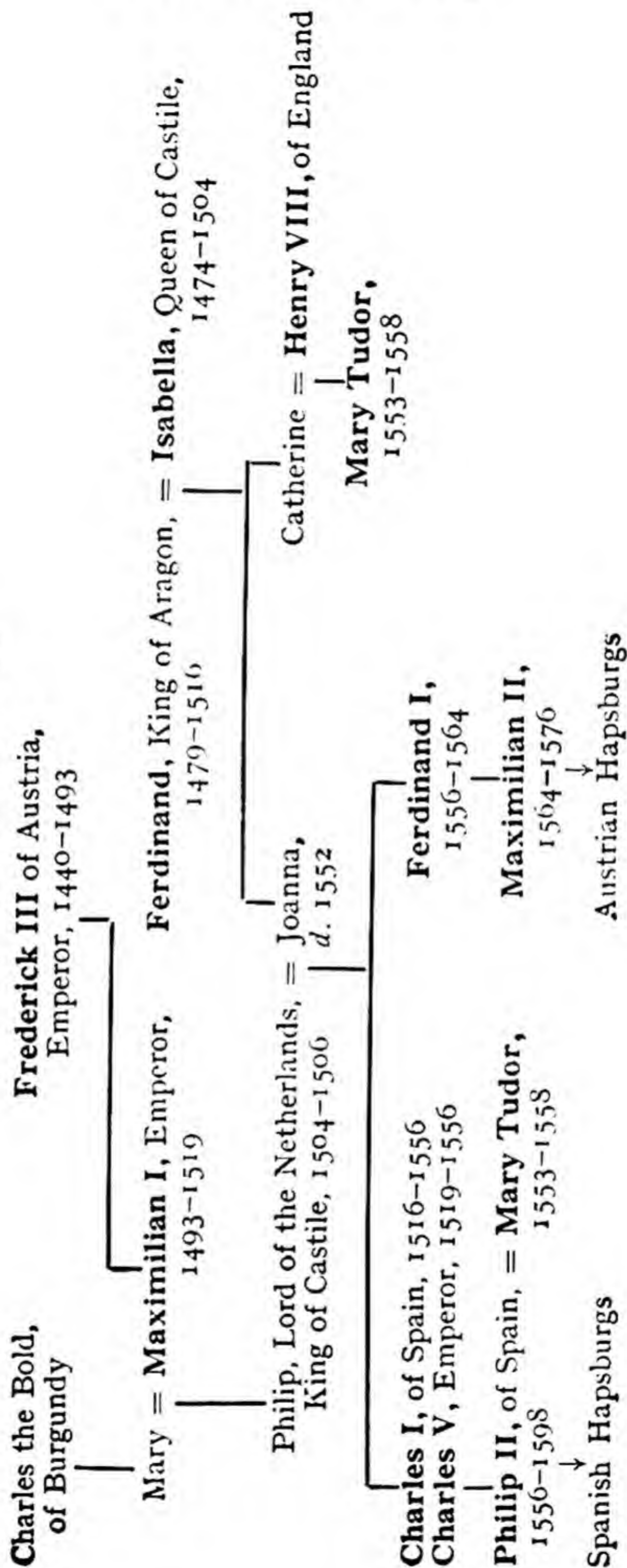
I. HENRY VIII'S AIMS

European Politics.

Henry VIII, we have said, ascended the throne at a moment critical both for Europe in general and for England in particular, and the policy he adopted was the outcome, in large measure, of prevailing circumstances. When in 1509 Henry became king at eighteen years of age, the politics of Europe were in the hands of three experienced and wily rulers: Maximilian I, Archduke of Austria and Emperor; Ferdinand of Spain; and Louis XII of France. Moreover, as we have seen already,¹ the late fifteenth century and the early sixteenth was a period characterized by the development of nation-states, particularly of France and Spain, and each of the three rulers was anxious to score success against his rivals so as to win both personal fame and the support of his people. The tangible prize for which they schemed was north Italy. Italy in the sixteenth century—and, indeed, until the end of the nineteenth century—consisted of a number of separate states and therefore, because of its divisions, was a prey to the rulers of the large states of Europe: Naples, including Sicily, in the south was in the hands of Ferdinand of Spain; the states of the Church, in the centre, were ruled by the Pope; but Milan and Venice in the north were coveted and disputed by all alike, though actually in 1509 they had just been conquered by the French. This position was further complicated by the fact that Julius II, the Pope of the day, was not only Head of the Church but was also the temporal ruler of central Italy and was as crafty and unscrupulous as any of the other European rulers whom he tried to play off against one another so as to keep his own dominions intact. Amid such circumstances, the effect of the appearance of the young Henry VIII is not difficult to imagine. Each of the other rulers angled for

¹ Chapter I, Section 3.

THE HAPSBURGS



his alliance, which might well prove to be the decisive factor in the European scramble.

Character of Henry VIII.

For the new king was not merely the titular head of England. Training and nature had fitted him to play a leading rôle on any stage on which he might have a part. Ten years after his accession, the Venetian ambassador described Henry in the following terms:

Nature could not have done more for him. He is much handsomer than any other sovereign in Christendom; a great deal handsomer than the King of France [Francis I]; very fair and his whole frame admirably proportioned. . . . He is very accomplished, a good musician, is a capital horseman, a fine jouster, speaks good French, Latin and Spanish; is very religious. . . . He is very fond of hunting, and never takes his diversion without tiring eight or ten horses. . . . He is extremely fond of tennis, at which game it is the prettiest thing in the world to see him play, his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture. . . . He is affable and gracious and . . . seems extremely desirous of peace.¹

His natural endowments in body and mind had been developed by the best that contemporary education could do. Until the death of his brother Arthur in 1502, Henry had been destined for the Church and therefore as a boy had been grounded in the elements of sound learning, for which he developed not only an exceptional aptitude but also a genuine fondness. Apart from his personal qualifications, he had the advantages which his father had bequeathed to him, namely, the undisputed succession to a peaceful, well-governed kingdom, no immediate foreign enemies, and a fortune approaching two million pounds.

Henry's Early Policy.

The youthful king, thus richly endowed, both in himself and in his circumstances, was naturally eager to take his place as the equal of other rulers in Europe, and he greatly

¹ For the full description, see the extract in Robinson's *Readings in European History*.

enjoyed his alliance's being angled for by Maximilian, Ferdinand and Louis. Two factors determined his choice as between France and Spain. First, England and France had been traditional enemies at least from the outbreak of the Hundred Years' War nearly two centuries earlier. Of the possessions which the English had once owned in France, Calais alone remained, and Henry's pet ambition was to regain what had been lost in Aquitaine. Second, one of Henry's first acts on becoming king was to marry Catherine of Aragon, the widow of his brother Arthur, for which marriage the Pope had given a special dispensation as early as 1504.¹ During the early years of their married life Catherine exerted considerable influence over the king and inclined him towards an alliance with her father. Thus, both forces were exerted in the same direction, and Henry yielded willingly to the invitation to join an anti-French alliance.

2. WAR AGAINST FRANCE

The Holy League, 1511.

Pope Julius II, jealous of the growing power of the Republic of Venice, had in 1508 formed the League of Cambrai for the conquest and plunder of that state. Most of the fighting had been done by Louis XII of France, who was the ruler of the adjoining state of Milan and who thus became also the virtual master of Venice, though other members of the League had been awarded part of the spoils. No sooner was this an accomplished fact than the Pope became nervous of the predominance of the French who now controlled the two richest provinces in north Italy. In 1511, therefore, he formed a Holy League for the expulsion of the French from Venice, the members being Julius II, Maximilian I, Ferdinand and Venice. To this, Ferdinand invited the adhesion of his son-in-law Henry VIII, the latter's function being to keep the French

¹ Chapter II, Section 4.

engaged at home. Henry, whom the allotted part exactly suited and who felt himself complimented by the solicitations of the great rulers of the Continent, forthwith joined the League.

Events of the War.

In 1512 Henry, reviving a claim to the former English possessions in the south of France, sent thither an army under the Marquis of Dorset, who was to co-operate with Ferdinand. From the outset the expedition was a failure. Ferdinand, whose concern in the affair was purely selfish, concentrated upon the conquest of Navarre and made no attempt to support the English. The latter were badly organized and equipped, and their health suffered from the unaccustomed climate and food—including the drink! Accordingly Dorset returned home having accomplished nothing.

In 1513 Henry himself led an expedition to northern France, his base of operations being Calais. The first notable event took place outside Guinegate in August. There the French army became panic-stricken and was pursued off the field so rapidly that the engagement became known as the *Battle of the Spurs*. The English, taking full advantage of the victory, pushed on and seized *Tournai* and *Terouenne*.

While these events were taking place abroad, the Scots, true to the tradition that war between the French and the English was the signal for activity on their own account, invaded the north of England under the leadership of their king, James IV, who was undeterred in this action by his relationship of brother-in-law to Henry VIII. The position of the English seemed critical in the extreme: the King, with the finest troops, was away in France, and England seemed powerless before the new enemy. The Earl of Surrey was in command of the English defences and, as soon as the Scots crossed the border, he marched northward from Pontefract, where at the moment he was

stationed. James IV, having crossed the Tweed, took up a strong position at Flodden Edge and then, finding the English in his rear, marched down to meet them. The move was fatal, and at the ensuing *Battle of Flodden* (September, 1513) the English archers broke the Scottish ranks so thoroughly that, in the hand-to-hand fight which followed, the Scots were utterly routed. James IV himself and a large number of his nobles as well as of the common soldiers were slain as they fought.

Peace, 1514.

While Henry was busy fighting in north France and while his troops in England were routing the Scots, his so-called allies were securing their own aims by negotiations. In 1513 Pope Julius II was succeeded by Leo X, who, not being war-like, preferred to achieve his purposes by intrigue. Ferdinand, having seized Navarre from France, had no further interest in the war and made a truce with Louis. Maximilian was appeased by the gift of Milan as the dowry with a French princess who married his grandson and heir Charles; and Maximilian also left the League. Henry thus felt himself duped: he had fought successfully yet he alone remained uncompensated for his trouble and isolated. He had therefore no option but to follow suit and to conclude peace on his own account with Louis, which he did in 1514.

This peace was due directly to the King's minister Wolsey, and in order to understand its true significance we have to see how it formed part of the latter's policy as a whole.

3. WOLSEY, 1471-1530

Early Career.

Thomas Wolsey was the son of a grazier of Ipswich. Like all boys of mental promise in his day he had a choice between two professions only, namely, the Law and the Church, and it was the latter that he entered. He was

educated at Oxford, where he became a Fellow of Magdalen College, afterwards being a tutor to the family of the Marquis of Dorset, Chaplain to the Archbishop of Canterbury and then to King Henry VII. The King and Wolsey were exactly suited to each other, for Wolsey was alert, industrious and possessed of a capacity for dealing with details and routine. By the end of the reign he had been made Dean of Lincoln. Under Henry VIII, Wolsey's influence grew still further, and the organization of the expeditions to France was left chiefly in his hands. In recognition of his contribution to the success of the 1513 campaign, he was made Bishop of Tournai and Terouenne, the two towns captured in that year by the English. In 1514 he was raised to the Archbishopric of York, and in 1515 he was made Lord Chancellor of England by Henry VIII and a Cardinal by Pope Leo X. Next year he received the highest Church office, short of the Papacy, being created Papal Legate—that is, the representative in England of the Pope himself—in spite of the Archbishop of Canterbury having, presumably, a prior claim to that office. Before long, in addition to the offices mentioned above, Wolsey held the Bishoprics of Winchester, of Bath and Wells (which he exchanged for the more lucrative one of Durham), and of two Spanish sees, as well as the Abbacy of St. Albans, the richest abbey in England.

To Wolsey, the prodigious wealth which he thus controlled was not only something to be immediately enjoyed but was also a means for the extension and maintenance of his power. He built for himself two palaces, one being York House at Westminster and the other Hampton Court. There he lived in sumptuous state with long retinues of courtiers and servants. Indeed, his pomp was scarcely inferior to that of the King. The Venetian ambassador, whose account of Henry VIII we have already seen, thus describes the Wolsey of 1519:

The Cardinal of York is of low origin. He rules both the King and the entire Kingdom. . . . He is about forty-six years old,

very handsome, learned, extremely eloquent, of vast ability and indefatigable. He alone transacts as much business as that which occupies all the magistracies, offices and Councils of Venice, both civil and criminal; and all state affairs are likewise managed by him, let their nature be what it may.

This phenomenal rise of a man with no advantages of birth was evidently not an accident. To give high rank and power to a member of the middle-class was, as the previous reign showed, entirely in keeping with Tudor policy, for such men were more likely to be subservient to the sovereign than were men of noble birth. Further, the talented industry of Wolsey provided the King with a minister ideal for the royal purpose. The wholehearted devotion to pleasure, particularly to outdoor sports, which characterized the early years of Henry VIII, needed a competent person to discharge the affairs of state during the King's absence. In short, Wolsey's rise in royal favour was due to his being necessary to the King.

To summarize justly the character and the aims of Wolsey is not easy, for, like most men, he was moved by varying, and often conflicting, purposes. Personal ambition was certainly one of the chief of these, and this motive grew stronger with the passage of time and in certain respects interfered with the fulfilment of larger and wise policy. For example, he allowed his cherished hope of one day becoming Pope to wreck a system of alliance which he had built up with much skilful care.

The Balance of Power.

His most striking successes were achieved in foreign affairs. When in 1514 Henry, in spite of his victories of 1513, found himself without any tangible benefit from his efforts, Wolsey propounded a new line of policy. He pointed out that there were two reasons why Henry was unable to obtain any concessions from the Emperor and the King of Spain. First, the very fact that England was by tradition the consistent enemy of France meant that

the other Powers were certain of the alliance of England ; and, second, the Empire and Spain were strong enough to defeat France without English aid. For both of these reasons they did not trouble to make English friendship worth while. If, therefore, Henry was to be in a position to obtain what he demanded from an ally, he must make clear that he was uncertain about which side he would join in any particular quarrel, but he must really decide to join the weaker party. By this means England might become the arbiter between the other Powers who, eagerly seeking her help, would be willing to pay her price for an alliance. This policy, initiated by Wolsey, is known as the policy of "The Balance of Power".

Foreign Policy.

Henry VIII, smarting under a sense of wrong against his former allies, was quick to agree with his minister's proposition. In the utmost secrecy, negotiations were carried through with the French Court, and suddenly in August, 1514, Europe was startled by the news not only that England had made peace with France but that an alliance had been cemented by the marriage of Henry's sister Mary to Louis XII. That the princess was nineteen years of age while her royal husband was fifty-two and crippled with gout was a negligible detail to the diplomats. What was of paramount importance was that at a stroke European relationships had been transformed. Moreover, instead of England's being content to follow unquestioningly the well-worn paths, she was evidently now guided by a diplomatist at least as astute as any of his contemporaries. Henceforward she was regarded as a power to be reckoned with and her alliance as something worth paying for. Though subsequently Wolsey allowed himself and his master to depart from the French alliance, this new consequence that he gave to England remained his outstanding claim to greatness.

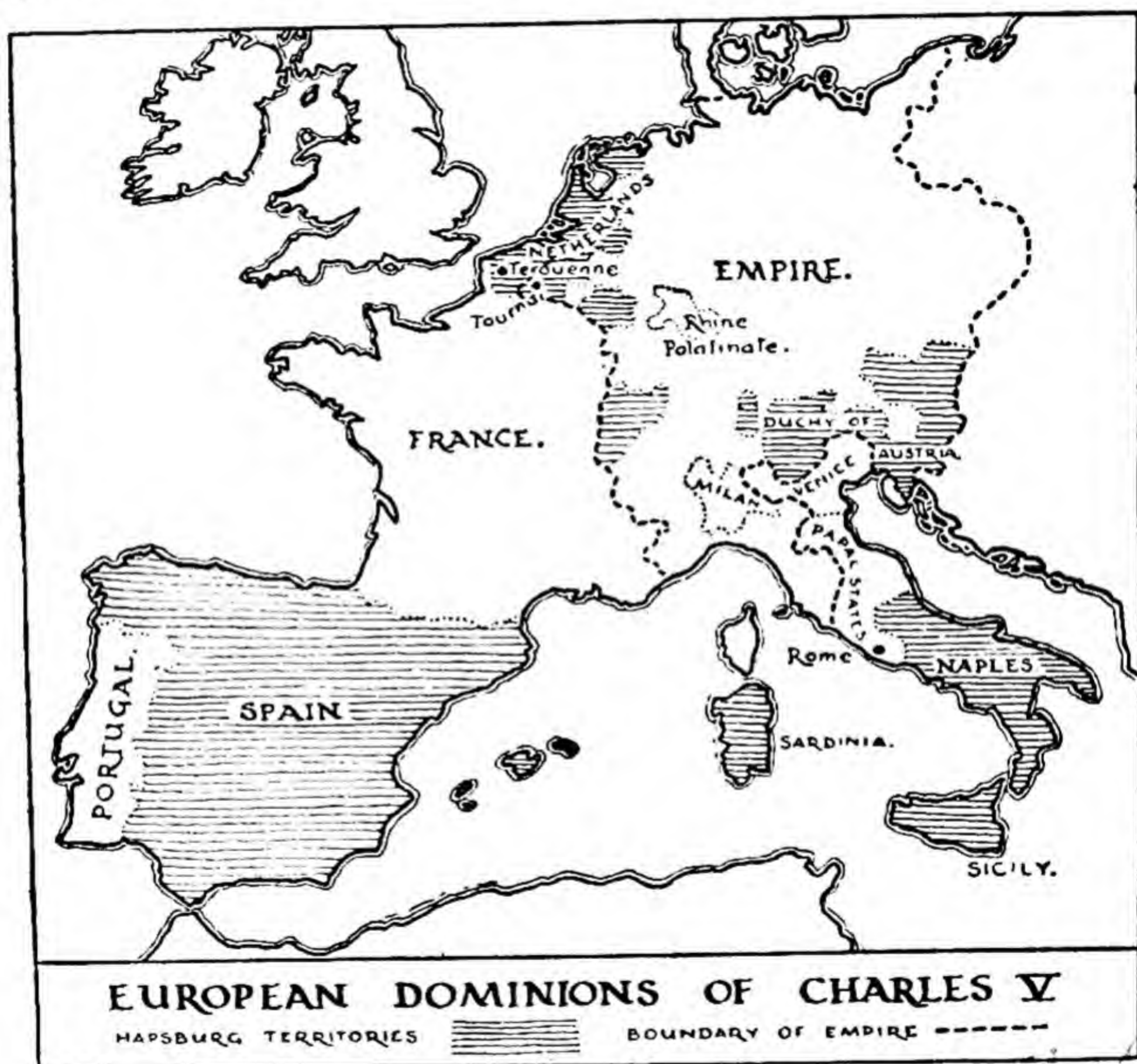
Almost immediately after the conclusion of this marriage

a new situation arose on the Continent through the passing of all the men who had played the leading part in recent politics. On the last day of 1515 Louis XII of France died, worn out, it is said, by trying to keep pace with the gaiety of his young wife : he was succeeded by his son-in-law Francis I. In 1516 Charles I succeeded his maternal grandfather, Ferdinand, as King of Spain ; and in 1519 the same Charles succeeded his paternal grandfather, Maximilian, as Archduke of Austria. Thus from the year 1519 the Hapsburg Charles wielded enormous powers : he was the ruler of Austria, Spain, Naples, the Spanish Netherlands, and the Spanish possessions in America. France was ringed round by the enemy's territory, all of which was in the hands of one man. Hence the maintenance of an Anglo-French alliance was more essential than ever. A further complication, the full consequence of which only the future could show, was that in 1517 Luther had begun his protest against Indulgences and thus had initiated a movement which was to develop into Protestantism : the effect of this upon England will be the concern of the next chapter.

A contest between the three young rulers—Charles I, Francis I and Henry VIII—first arose over the Empire. The Empire was not hereditary, but the right to choose a new emperor, on the death of the previous one, rested by custom with the rulers of seven of the states of Germany, these rulers being consequently known as the Seven Electors. In theory they could choose whom they would, but in practice they chose a German and usually a Hapsburg. But when Maximilian died in 1519, all the three young monarchs became candidates for the title. Henry VIII had not the remotest chance of being elected, and he put himself forward as a means of asserting his importance and in the hope of being bought off by one or both of the other candidates. Ultimately, Charles was elected and thus became the Emperor Charles V.

The real effect of the rivalry for the title was that the

bitterness between France and the Hapsburgs became more intense than ever, and both Charles and Francis prepared for war. As Wolsey had foreseen, they both sought the alliance of England. Francis did his utmost to impress Henry by entertaining him in 1520 with magnificent splendour at a camp near Calais known, from the apparel



of those taking part and from the adornments of the tents, as the "Field of Cloth of Gold". Henry appeared to be deeply impressed, and Francis was confident that an alliance was about to be arranged. But immediately after leaving the "Field" Henry hastened to meet Charles at Gravelines in Flanders. The truth was that Wolsey had already pledged England in alliance to Charles so that the

“Field of Cloth of Gold” was little better than an empty sham, and at Gravelines the alliance was confirmed. The motives on the English side are easy to understand: the Queen’s persuasion was strongly exerted on Henry in favour of Spain; the English commercial classes were anxious that the wool trade with Flanders should not be interfered with through a quarrel with the Emperor; and Wolsey was led away by the Emperor’s promise to exert his influence in the interest of Wolsey at the next Papal election. Nevertheless, the move was a mistaken one. War between Francis and Charles broke out in 1521 and continued until the decisive Battle of Pavia in 1525 when Charles routed the French army and took Francis himself prisoner. The result was that France was rendered so powerless that the English alliance was no longer necessary to Charles. Even Wolsey by this time was disillusioned: in 1521 and again in 1523 the Papacy had fallen vacant, but on neither occasion had the Emperor troubled to secure Wolsey’s election. By the time of the Battle of Pavia, therefore, the alliance with Charles can be considered at an end. In 1527 the Imperial troops in Italy got out of hand, ran amuck and looted and pillaged Rome at will. This “Sack of Rome” provoked throughout Europe intense antagonism to the Emperor, and Wolsey was preparing a new alliance with France when his plans were upset by proceedings relating to the King’s divorce from Catherine of Aragon. The remaining items of Henry’s relationships with foreign Powers centre around that divorce and his break from Rome, both of which will be considered below.

Home Affairs.

We must not suppose, however, that Wolsey’s interest was limited exclusively to foreign politics. While he was directing the relationships of England abroad he was virtually governing her at home in both Church and State. Though Wolsey personally treated his ecclesiastical offices solely as sources of revenue, he was keenly alive to

the abuses which existed in the Church at large and which were provoking the outburst of Luther and his fellows. Wolsey, sincerely devoted to the welfare and prestige of the Church, determined to remove those abuses from the inside so as to forestall the reformers from the outside. Had the Popes of that day taken a similar statesmanlike view of the situation the Church might have been preserved from the Lutheran schism. A generation later a series of reforming Popes tried to do for the whole Church what Wolsey aimed at doing in England, but by that time the move was too late. As typical of his policy, and as a shadow of greater events to come, may be mentioned his suppression of certain badly conducted monasteries and his employment of their revenues to establish educational foundations, notably Cardinal's College—now Christ Church—at Oxford.

His methods of administering affairs of state resembled closely those of his first royal master, Henry VII; that is to say, as far as possible he worked not through Parliament but through the more efficient Council. Evidence of this is afforded by the facts that, whereas during the first six years of Henry VIII's reign a Parliament met every year and fairly frequently also after 1529, during the fifteen years of Wolsey's power—that is between 1514 and 1529—only one Parliament sat, namely, in 1523. The work of the Council was therefore multifarious during Wolsey's period, not only because of its administrative activity but also because the judicial side of the Council—that is, the Star Chamber—was the instrument which he used in order to secure the punishment of those who displeased him. His solitary recourse to Parliament (in 1523) was due to the exhaustion of the royal exchequer, the hoard bequeathed by Henry VII having by that time disappeared through the French wars and the lavish expenditure of Henry VIII and his court, and no more could be squeezed out of wealthy subjects by forced loans and benevolences. Wolsey haughtily demanded from Parliament the grant of one-fifth

of every man's land and goods, estimating that this would produce £800,000, but the Members coolly insisted on his withdrawing from the House before they debated on the subject, and finally they granted only one-half what he had demanded. Evidently as early as 1523 there were limits even to Wolsey's power, a fact whose significance was hardly likely to be lost upon his royal master.

4. HENRY VIII'S DIVORCE

Henry's Reasons.

The pivot of the reign was the action taken by the King for the divorce of his queen, Catherine of Aragon. In itself the question of the divorce is of small historical importance, nor need its causes detain us long; but its effects, both immediate and ultimate, were so profound that the separation of Henry from Catherine may without exaggeration be claimed as a turning-point not only in the reign in which it occurred but also in the whole history of England.

Henry's motives for his action were very mixed. Almost certainly the chief motive was that though Catherine had had several children the only surviving one was the Princess Mary who presumably would be Henry's successor after his death. But England had never been ruled by a queen—with the exception of Matilda during the reign of Stephen, an experiment whose results did not encourage a repetition—and there was no certainty that even in the sixteenth century a female succession would be universally accepted. Moreover, Henry VIII was only the second of the new royal House of Tudor, and though England was peaceful under his rule, a succession that could be disputed might well afford the opportunity for discontents of various kinds to show themselves. As the years passed, the desire for another marriage that might produce a male successor became increasingly strong and, consequently, began to cause a dislike on the part of the King towards the Queen.

This attitude was reinforced in two other ways. First, by 1525, as we have seen, there was a complete break in England's alliance with Spain, and as Catherine had been one of the chief influences in bringing about and in maintaining that alliance, some of Henry's bitterness at being duped, first by her father Ferdinand and then by her nephew Charles, was naturally directed against her. Second, by that time he had become attracted by Anne Boleyn, one of the ladies-in-waiting to the Queen. In exactly what proportions these various motives influenced Henry—whether, for example, he would ever have been fascinated by Anne Boleyn if he had not been already embittered against Catherine—we cannot now determine, nor would any very useful purpose be served if we could. What matters is that by 1526 Henry had made up his mind to get rid of the Queen and began to take steps to that end.

Opening Stages.

At first sight the course to be followed seemed fairly simple. Henry put forward religious scruples as to whether the Pope had had any right to grant the special dispensation whereby alone the marriage had been possible. Here again the extent to which Henry's conscience was genuinely affected is beyond the scope of our inquiry. Be this as it may, there seemed nothing unreasonable in supposing that what Julius II had done Clement VII could undo, and Henry instructed Wolsey to obtain from the Pope a declaration that the marriage had been invalid, which would mean that Henry was still a bachelor! Unfortunately for this scheme, the moment at which it was put forward was as ill-chosen as it could well have been, for in 1527 there took place the Sack of Rome which left the Pope entirely in the power of Charles V, the nephew of Catherine. Hence, though Clement VII did not wish to offend the King of England who was a faithful son of the Church, he did not dare to offend the Emperor who at the moment was his master.

The Trial.

In such circumstances the obvious strategy for the Pope to adopt was to waste as much time as he could : at the moment he was helpless, and the situation could not possibly get worse, and it might perhaps get better—one or more of the parties concerned might die, or something similar might happen to ease the tension. Accordingly, after some negotiations, in 1528 he appointed a Legatine Court to sit in London and to be under the presidency of Cardinal Wolsey, as the representative of the King, and of Cardinal Campeggio who was sent over from Rome as the special representative of the Pope, their business being to collect and hear evidence and to deliver judgment. Campeggio, having spent as long as possible on the journey, arrived in London in September ; then during several weeks he tried to find a friendly solution to the difficulty by dealing separately with Henry and with Catherine, but the only effect was to raise the angry impatience of the King to a state of fury, and at last Henry demanded that the Court should sit forthwith and deliver judgment. Not until June, 1529, however, did it actually get to business. Then Catherine refused to recognize the Court and insisted on a trial by the Pope personally. This occasioned more delays, and in July Campeggio announced that the commencement of the vacation of the Church courts would necessitate an adjournment of the case until the autumn. The meaning of this move was too obvious to be ignored : Henry was being merely played with and had been tricked by the Pope.

Wolsey's Fall.

The King's anger knew no bounds and, almost like a child, he vented his temper upon the first object within his reach. That " object " happened to be Wolsey, whom Henry quite unreasonably blamed for the failure to secure a divorce. Wolsey was therefore charged with violating

the *Statute of Præmunire*, which was the name of a law passed by Parliament in 1393 declaring that the penalties for receiving Bulls (that is, documents bearing large seals, Latin *bullæ*) from the Pope was the forfeiture of land and goods by the receiver. That Wolsey had, as Papal Legate, infringed this statute was undeniable, but that he had accepted that office at the express command of the King was a fact which the latter conveniently overlooked and which the minister did not dare to plead. Wolsey made humble submission, was stripped of his wealth—his palaces at York House and at Hampton Court were appropriated by the King—and of his office as Lord Chancellor. After being unsuccessfully charged with treason and being bravely defended in the trial by his servant Thomas Cromwell, Wolsey was dismissed to his Archbishopric at York. There his diligent attention to the work of the diocese and his generosity to those in need began to make him a popular person. Meanwhile, however, his enemies at Court were working actively against him. In 1530 the charge of treason was renewed and Wolsey was summoned to London for trial. By this time he was worn out in body and mind, and by the time he reached Leicester he was too ill to continue the journey, and in the Abbey there he died—a merciful ending, for it saved him from a farcical trial and from the headsman's block.

There can be no doubt that the failure of the divorce merely precipitated, and did not cause, the great Cardinal's fall. His power had been due, in the first place, to his usefulness to Henry whose youth was occupied mainly by a variety of pleasures. But as youth gave place to full manhood, the King began to take a growing interest in the affairs of state in whose direction there would not be room for both Wolsey and Henry. For this reason alone the displacement of Wolsey was merely a matter of time. But this process would certainly be encouraged by the numerous enemies produced by the Cardinal's haughty manner and by the ostentatious splendour in which he

lived. In particular, Parliament never forgave the events of 1523. Also, the trading classes of the City disliked equally his attempts to squeeze money out of them by forced loans and the breach with Charles in 1525 which jeopardized the wool trade with Flanders. In the Council, although under Wolsey that body greatly increased its importance, there was an influential group of laymen strongly opposed to the pretensions of the Cardinal. Thus the completeness of Wolsey's success was itself the cause of his ultimate fall. But though his life ended in the failure both of himself and of his foreign policy for England, he had certainly succeeded in giving to England a position of greater consequence in Europe than she had perhaps ever enjoyed before and thus opening the way for her yet larger importance under Elizabeth.

That the King was aware of the meaning of the opposition to Wolsey was indicated clearly by the two steps he took immediately after his minister's fall. First, the new Chancellor whom he appointed was Sir Thomas More—a layman—and, second, he summoned a Parliament, both of which steps were full of significance for the days ahead. The closing stages of Henry's divorce suit form part of the larger story of the Reformation in England, and to that story we must now turn.

CHAPTER IV

HENRY VIII AND THE REFORMATION, 1529-1547

I. TENDENCIES TO REFORMATION

Opposition to the Pope.

THOUGH the connection between Henry VIII's divorce suit and the Reformation in England was a very close one, to conclude that the divorce was the cause of the Reformation is to be guilty of gross exaggeration. Henry's quarrel with the Pope was the immediate occasion which released the forces of religious change in England, but the tendencies towards that change had existed for several generations. For example, the very fact that the Statute of Præmunire, under which Wolsey was charged in 1529, had been passed nearly a century and a half previously, is a proof that there were other causes of enmity between England and the Pope besides the divorce of Catherine of Aragon. Earlier still, in the fourteenth century, the remarkable movement associated with John Wyclif (1320-1384) is further evidence of the same thing. All through English history from the time of John downwards (1199-1216), though England remained unquestionably faithful to the Roman Catholic Church, her people always disliked and distrusted the Pope, whose chief interest in England seemed to be how much money he could squeeze out of her. The Good Parliament of 1376 declared that five times as much money went out of England to the coffers of the Pope at Rome as was paid in

taxes to the King. Even if this computation be regarded as exaggerated—which is by no means certain—its significance as expressing the attitude of the English people towards the Pope is unmistakable. He was hated not because of his doctrines but because he was a foreigner, and this reason for opposition to the Pope was still strong in the sixteenth century.

The Renaissance.

The career of Wyclif illustrates another reason for the Reformation. The essentials of his beliefs and of the later Reformation had much in common: Wyclif based his teachings upon the Bible which he translated into English so that its contents might be more easily accessible to the mass of the people; and he declared that every individual could have direct access to God, a doctrine which tended strongly to diminish the exclusive prerogatives of the priesthood. These two respects are typical of several in which the principles of Wyclif in the fourteenth century and of the Reformers of the sixteenth were almost identical. Yet Wyclif failed in his own day to carry his countrymen with him in his revolt against the abuses prevailing in the Church. The cause of his failure was that men's minds had not been prepared for the far-reaching changes that Wyclif's teachings entailed. Europe, including England, was still in the grip of the mental lethargy of the Middle Ages. The learned men, commonly known as the Schoolmen, believed and taught the most absurd notions about every branch of knowledge—geography, astronomy, religion, history and the rest—and these notions had to agree with what was supposed to be the teaching of the Bible, though most of the men who taught had only the crudest, and sometimes the weirdest, ideas about what the Bible really did teach. This ignorance was shared by even the mass of the priests. As the schoolmen were the sole source of authority, their word was implicitly and universally accepted, and anyone who questioned the tenets which

bore the stamp of authority was regarded not as a foolish innovator or as a fanatic but as a dangerous heretic, and as such he was punished. Such blind, unquestioning acceptance of traditional beliefs, for no better reason than that they *were* traditional, was a fatal barrier to progress in every realm of thought. This was the barrier which proved fatal to Wyclif's teachings. The root reason for the greater success of the sixteenth-century Reformation, therefore, was not the divorce suit of Henry VIII but was that the new Renaissance spirit had begun to prepare the minds of at least a few men to examine the tenets of the Church with the same balanced, searching judgment as they brought to bear upon questions of literature, art, science and geography. Hence the men who prepared the way for the Reformation movement were mostly men who had become infected by the Renaissance, for example, in England, Colet, More and Erasmus.

Reformers.

John Colet had studied Greek in Italy whence, in 1492, he returned to Oxford and proceeded at once to lecture on the Epistles of St. Paul. Ignoring completely the petty, and often nonsensical, interpretations of the schoolmen, he treated the Epistles as live literature and tried to expound to his hearers the circumstances in which the Letters were written, their meaning to Paul himself when he wrote them and to their readers when they received them. This new line of approach well deserves the name of epoch-making: the New Testament became a living book with a meaning and a value for present life; men flocked to the lectures, and almost at once the methods of Colet had to be imitated by other teachers. Still more important than this, a new attitude began to be adopted towards the Bible and the teaching of the Church. Mere tradition had to justify itself in the light of reason. Colet became Dean of St. Paul's and he founded a school, bearing the name of that Cathedral, where Greek and sound learning generally might be taught.

Sir Thomas More was a lawyer who, in association with Colet in Oxford and in London, became a devotee of the New Learning which he applied not primarily to religion but to politics. He wrote a book called *Utopia* (which means "Nowhere") in which he described an ideal island-state where there was no king, private property, priesthood, or war. The design of the book was to expose, by mocking contrast instead of by direct condemnation, the evils of social and political life as they existed in his own day. Personally, More must have been a delightful individual: his conversation and charm of manner attracted all alike. This was the man whom Henry VIII created Lord Chancellor after the fall of Wolsey.

Erasmus was a Fleming who similarly had been captivated by the Renaissance spirit and had come to England to meet the Oxford Reformers, Colet and More. Erasmus' great contribution to the Reformation was the publication in 1516 of a New Testament in Greek. In preparing this book he had collected all the Greek manuscripts of the New Testament books that he could procure, had compared them with one another and then had written out what seemed the best authenticated text. To this text he added his own interpretation of difficult passages. Erasmus' Greek New Testament had an immeasurable significance of which three aspects should be noticed. First it provided a source of authority, more fundamental even than the authority of the Church, which was available for the settlement of disputed and uncertain points of belief. Only relatively a few people could read the Greek, but the mere existence of such a book was a standing challenge to the old-time unquestionable dominance of the Church. Second, that challenge was carried yet further by Erasmus' addition of his *own* notes. Formerly the only interpretations accepted by the schoolmen and allowed by the Church had been those of tradition stamped by ecclesiastical approval. Erasmus, however, was using his own intelligence and, having used it, was not treated

as a heretic. Such temerity was an encouragement to others to follow his example. Third, henceforward translators—notably Tyndale in 1525—could give a version in English direct from the Greek and not from an inferior Latin translation of the Greek.

It is important to notice that though these and other men were, either actually or by implication, keen critics of the practices of the Church, they were not antagonistic towards the Church as an institution. On the contrary, they were faithful members of the Roman Catholic Church—the only Church which then existed in Western Europe—and were concerned only to cleanse it from abuses which spoiled it and brought it into disrepute. Nevertheless, they did prepare the way for the Reformation, even though they had no intention of doing so ; for other men gradually adopted their views, and when the Church refused to allow changes, the only alternative was to make a clean break from her authority. The example for such a break was provided in Germany, and in order to understand the coming of the Reformation to England we have to follow its opening stages on the Continent.

2. THE REFORMATION IN EUROPE

Indulgences.

An anti-Papal attitude was not limited to England : it was widespread also on the Continent, though there it was less pronounced than here, partly because England's insular position was conducive to an independent spirit and partly because in no other country was there a Parliament capable of voicing national sentiment. Nevertheless, discontent with the financial exactions of the Church was universal ; and intelligent people resented practices—of supposed relics and the like—whereby the credulity of ignorant folk was imposed upon. This dissatisfaction was brought to a head over the question of Indulgences. The historical origin and the precise meaning of Indulgences are

beside our present purpose. Suffice to say that, however justifiable their primary purpose and use may have been, by the early sixteenth century an Indulgence had come to mean to the ignorant masses little more than a pardon which the Church dispensed on the payment of money by the person whose sin was thus forgiven.

During the opening years of the sixteenth century the building of St. Peter's Cathedral at Rome was proceeding apace. No pains were being spared to ensure its beauty and splendour: Raphael and Michael Angelo, whose skill and taste in every branch of art have never been surpassed, were among those engaged upon the work. All this magnificence was costing fabulous sums of money, and in order to replenish the Papal exchequer agents were despatched over Europe selling pardons to all and sundry. The most notorious of these agents was Tetzel who, in the course of his travels through Germany, reached Wittenberg in Saxony where he roused the wrath of Luther.

Martin Luther, 1483–1546.

Martin Luther was a miner's son who, after training for a lawyer in Erfurt University, had in 1505 suddenly entered a monastery in that town. There he spent much of his time in Bible-study. Three years later he was appointed as a professor in the new University of Wittenberg, where he was living when in 1517 the Papal agent reached the town selling Indulgences. Luther was stung to action, and he nailed to Wittenberg church-door his famous *Ninety-Five Theses*, that is, arguments, against the whole practice of granting Indulgences. Luther's protest became a rallying-point for anti-Papal discontent which throughout Germany began to express itself openly. But criticism of the Church could not be limited to opposition to Indulgences. Luther and his followers were forced to examine the bases of their beliefs and, finding many practices with which they were unable to agree, they were soon clamouring for wholesale reforms within the Church. By 1520 the movement had

become so serious that the Pope issued a Bull against Luther declaring him a heretic and excommunicating him unless within sixty days he recanted. Luther replied by burning the Bull publicly at Wittenberg; and popular sympathy was so strongly in Luther's favour that none dared to punish him for his bold defiance of Papal authority.

Next year the Pope called upon the Emperor Charles V to suppress the turbulent monk. Accordingly Luther was summoned to appear before the Diet—that is, the Assembly of the rulers of the Empire—which was meeting at Worms. There Luther was called upon to recant, which he agreed to do on condition that he was proved by the Bible to be wrong. This reply expressed exactly the basis of the Reformation: the Reformers regarded the Pope and the Councils of the Church as having only secondary authority and they regarded the Bible, which each man had the right to read and interpret for himself, as the ultimate source of religious authority for every individual. This attitude, it should be observed once more, was in complete accordance with the new Renaissance spirit whence the Reformation derived its strength.

After 1521 the Lutheran movement spread still further, and the political, as well as the religious, history of Germany until nearly the middle of the seventeenth century was concerned with the struggle between the Roman Catholics and the Reformers.

John Calvin, 1509–1564.

Other Reformers arose in other parts of Europe. The most notable was John Calvin, who was much more thoroughgoing in his reforms than Luther. Whereas Luther was mainly destructive in his methods, Calvin built up a comprehensive form of theology which he expounded in his *Institutes of the Christian Religion*, written when he was only twenty-five years of age. Priests and the whole organization of clerical authorities were excluded from his system. Each congregation was responsible for its own

Church-government and for the appointment of its minister. His characteristic doctrine was that of *predestination*, which consisted of the belief that God had already determined which individuals were to be saved and which were not.

Calvin was a Frenchman who had studied at the University of Paris, whence he was driven on account of his religious opinions. He made his new home in Geneva where most of his life's work was done and where his influence was such that he became the autocratic ruler of the city. But the effects of his teaching extended far beyond Switzerland. The Protestantism of France was almost exclusively Calvinistic. So also was that of Scotland, for the leader of the Reformation in Scotland was *John Knox* (1505–1572) who, while an exile in Geneva, had become an ardent Calvinist. That the Protestantism of Scotland was Calvinistic—being known as Presbyterianism, from the name of its most important Church-officers—while that of England became much more nearly allied to Lutheranism, had far-reaching results in the years that followed.

3. THE REFORMATION PARLIAMENT, 1529–1536

Already we have traced three influences all tending to bring to England something of the Reformation which was developing upon the Continent: long-standing antipathy towards the Pope, as distinct from disagreement with Church beliefs; the work of the Renaissance scholars who led men to examine with open minds the traditional doctrines and practices of the Church; and Henry VIII's divorce suit which, causing a breach between King and Pope, brought to a focus the centuries-old hatred of the Papacy and opened the way for the fuller inflow and expression of the true Reformation spirit. We have therefore to resume the story of the divorce which we left at the point of the adjournment of the Legatine Court in London followed by the fall of Wolsey in 1529.

Submission of Clergy.

Immediately following Wolsey's fall, Thomas Cranmer, then a rising young clergyman, suggested to the King the possibility of securing the divorce from the Archbishop of Canterbury without consulting the Pope. Cranmer further proposed that, in order to ascertain whether the Archbishop could so grant the divorce, the views of various authorities on Canon Law in the universities of Europe should be collected. This scheme was forthwith put into execution.

In October, 1529, Henry summoned a Parliament. This Parliament continued to sit, with intermissions, from November, 1529, until March, 1536, and was the instrument used by the King for wreaking his vengeance against the Pope and, in the process, for the enormous increase of the royal power and of the royal treasury. The first step was one upon which there would be widespread agreement, namely, several Acts for the correction of abuses in Church-practice: for example, clergymen were forbidden to hold more than one living or to engage in any employment other than their own, and the fees charged for burial were regulated.

In 1532 the penalties of the Statute of Præmunire¹ were declared to have been incurred by the whole nation owing to its recognition of Wolsey's authority. The laity were, through the petition of Parliament, exempted from these penalties; but the clergy were compelled to purchase their pardon by the payment of the colossal sum of £118,000.

Act of Annates, 1532.

Notwithstanding these actions, the King's agents were continuing to negotiate in Rome for their master's divorce which the Pope was continuing to refuse. Hence, with the

¹ Chapter III, Section 4.

object of forcing the Pope's hand, in 1532 Parliament passed the Act of Annates which forbade the payment to the Pope of Annates (that is, of the first year's income received by a newly appointed bishop). But the Act contained also a clause authorizing the King to postpone the enforcement of its provisions. This clause evidently was intended as a hint to the Pope that the payment of annates would be conditional upon his granting a divorce. Actually the operation of the Act was suspended immediately after its passage through Parliament.

This step was followed by the resignation of Sir Thomas More from the Chancellorship, who refused to associate himself with the King becoming the virtual ruler of the Church. In 1532 Warham, Archbishop of Canterbury, died and Henry seized the opportunity to urge the appointment of Cranmer to the vacant Archbishopric, and the threat that the Act of Annates would be put into execution unless Rome authorized his appointment was sufficient to secure the Papal recognition of Cranmer's appointment early in 1533—whereupon Henry enforced the Act of Annates.

Act of Appeals, 1533.

Meanwhile the consultation of the Universities respecting the right of the Archbishop of Canterbury to grant the divorce had been proceeding. During 1532 the replies to this inquiry began to arrive. That they were by no means unanimous rendered them of little practical value, but Henry, stressing those which suited his purpose, proceeded to secure the passage of the Act of Appeals which forbade appeals to Rome from ecclesiastical courts in England. The King's case was promptly tried by the new Archbishop of Canterbury, who declared that Catherine of Aragon never had been the wife of Henry VIII. Catherine then retired to a nunnery and died in January, 1536. Immediately after the declaration of his divorce, Henry acknowledged that he had been married secretly to Anne Boleyn

as early as January, 1533, and Cranmer formally announced the marriage to be legal.

In 1534 the separation from Rome was widened still further by three other Acts. First, not only annates but all payments to Rome were forbidden. Second, a new procedure was inaugurated for the appointment of bishops: the King was to nominate the person to be elected to a vacant see, but a royal writ was to give to the Dean and Chapter of the Cathedral leave to elect (*congé d'élire*) this individual—a so-called compromise which evidently left all the reality of power in the hands of the King. Incidentally this method of appointing an Anglican bishop is still followed at the present day. Third, a Royal succession Act—the first of several—declared that the marriage with Catherine was null and void (which would mean that her daughter Mary was illegitimate) and that the succession to the throne should pass to the children of Henry and Anne (a daughter, the Princess Elizabeth, having been born in September, 1533).

Act of Supremacy, 1534.

The Pope countered this by at last giving his verdict on the great divorce suit. He declared that Catherine was the lawful wife of Henry and he enjoined upon the King to take her again as his Queen. The King's reply was to secure the passage of the Act of Supremacy which gave to the King the title of Supreme Head on Earth of the Church of England. This was accompanied by a supplementary Act whereby anyone who questioned that title became subject to the penalties of high treason. These Acts made the separation of England from Rome complete.

The immediate result was the outbreak of religious persecution on a scale of which there is no parallel in English history except in the reign of Mary. The King's inconsiderate treatment of Catherine met with general disapproval among all classes in the country and began

to cause some unpopularity of Henry personally and a reaction against his anti-Papal acts. This reactionary movement centred around the *Nun of Kent*, who was supposed to see visions and, in consequence of what they taught her, to give expression to inspired utterances. Among her prophecies was one that the King would not long survive his second marriage. So widespread was the attention which the Nun received that Henry's agents, regarding her as dangerous, had her tried for treason and hanged at Tyburn. Many notable people were incidentally involved by her trial, including Bishop Fisher of Rochester and Sir Thomas More: More was known to have visited her, and this was stored up against him. After the passage of the Act of Succession, commissioners were appointed to administer, to individuals indicated by the King, an oath in which the Act was recognized. More and Fisher were among those to whom the oath was presented, but they both refused to take it: they were willing to recognize Elizabeth as Henry's successor but they objected to the preamble of the Act because its declaration of the nullity of the marriage with Catherine implied a denial of the Pope's authority. Both More and Fisher were therefore sent to the Tower in April, 1534. After the Act of Supremacy had become law, this also was presented to them and this also they refused to recognize. Hence, by the Act which supplemented the Act of Supremacy, they became liable to death, and in 1535 they were both executed on Tower Hill. This was followed by a veritable Reign of Terror in which all who refused to take the oath recognizing the King's supremacy over the Church were forthwith executed. To us the spectacle of Henry's persecuting heretics while he himself was a recusant against the only Church hitherto regarded as orthodox appears strange indeed. We have to remember, however, that freedom of thought and mutual toleration in things religious were ideas scarcely known to the mind of anyone of that day. One of the duties of a prince was generally

acknowledged to be that of enforcing religious unity within his realms.

Thomas Cromwell, 1485–1540.

The chief instrument in this persecution, as in all the Acts and actions promoting the religious changes of Henry VIII's reign, was Thomas Cromwell. This man, though of humble origin, had had a varied career as a soldier, a trader and a lawyer. He sat in the House of Commons and had been of great service to Wolsey. Cromwell's mind, however, ran on politics rather than on religion : his wanderings abroad, his dealings with men low both in society and in mind, and his reading, all helped to develop the cunning which was perhaps the most distinctive characteristic of his nature. Wolsey had found him invaluable in all matters requiring secrecy, business acumen and self-reliance. It was Cromwell, for example, who was Wolsey's agent in the dissolution of the small corrupt monasteries and in conveying their wealth to his new colleges at Oxford and Ipswich. The fidelity with which Cromwell defended his fallen master, dangerous though such an action was with a monarch like Henry VIII, proved actually to be his chief means to power ; for Henry admired the courage and was ready to secure such a servant for himself.

Henceforward Thomas Cromwell became to the King more even than he had been to the Cardinal. It was he who, immediately after the fall of Wolsey, suggested to the King the project of transferring supremacy over the Church from the Pope to the Crown and who " managed " the Reformation Parliament while the ecclesiastical measures were being passed. In 1535 Cromwell was appointed Vicar-General and, as such, was responsible to the King for the exercise of the latter's powers under the Act of Supremacy. More than with anything else Cromwell's name is associated with the dissolution of the monasteries.

4. THE DISSOLUTION OF THE MONASTERIES, 1536-1540

Condition of the Monasteries.

The monasteries and nunneries were primarily institutions where men and women might find retirement from the strife of the world—and in the Middle Ages violence played a large part in the life of society—and where, in quiet meditation, they might help on their own salvation and might pray for the good of mankind. But the monasteries had grown to have a much more intimate share in the lives of ordinary men and women than this original purpose might suggest. They became the refuges of the poor and needy in every sort of trouble: the monks tended the sick, gave shelter to travellers and supplied food to those in want. Moreover, the monasteries were the centres of learning: old manuscripts were treasured, books were slowly but beautifully copied by hand, and children were taught. In short, the monasteries were the best friends of the masses of the people. The wealth which enabled the monasteries to maintain themselves and to help outsiders was derived partly from money or lands left by pious folk to the monasteries and partly from the possessions, great or small, of those who became monks. These sources, accumulated through many generations, made some of the monastic foundations extremely wealthy. The aggregate wealth of the seven hundred monasteries in England must have been enormous. The monasteries enjoyed, too, a position of peculiar independence. They were in no way under the jurisdiction of the Church authorities in England, not even of the Archbishop of Canterbury, but were directly responsible to the Pope and to him alone; and the more powerful abbots sat in the House of Lords as the equals of the bishops. The only outsider who could claim admittance by right into a monastery was the Papal Legate, definitely appointed by the Pope to inspect its life and condition.

Like many institutions which are sound in origin and which attain a position of flourishing success, in the course of time the monasteries underwent a change for the worse. New ideas and the broader outlook which the Renaissance brought to devout men generally, made the monastic life less attractive than formerly. The invention of printing had made the work of the copyists unnecessary ; the new schools, which were beginning to spring up under Renaissance influences, were often more efficient than those conducted by monks ; and with the increase of travel—resulting from the development of trade which the new period of internal peace was encouraging—inns began to be built on the great highways so that the hospitality of the monasteries was no longer so essential as it once had been. Thus in various ways the monasteries, from being centres of social life, had become mere adjuncts. Moreover, rumours had begun to spread that their increasing wealth had encouraged idleness and worse among the monks, and the evidence gathered by Wolsey—who certainly was no enemy of the Church—seemed amply to confirm this suspicion. This was the handle that Henry used in attacking the monasteries.

Reasons for Dissolution.

In this attack, as in his desire for a divorce from Catherine, the motives of Henry are not easy to disentangle. The obvious motive was the desire to seize the wealth of the monasteries, and, when their dissolution was once decided upon, Henry was certainly eager to appropriate much of that wealth to himself. But whether the pillaging of the monasteries was the primary reason for their dissolution is another question. Whether they had been wealthy or poor, the problem of their status under the new régime inevitably called for settlement. As formerly the monasteries had owned no superior but the Pope, the presumption was that the King had now stepped into the Pope's place in that respect. But that the abbots would be willing

to acknowledge Henry as their religious superior seemed unlikely, and, even if they did outwardly so acknowledge him, that they would loyally carry out the implications of their promise was equally doubtful. Here seems the real explanation of the attack which Thomas Cromwell was instructed to launch upon the monasteries.

Smaller Monasteries Dissolved, 1536.

In 1535 a commission under Cromwell was set up to visit the monasteries and to report on their conditions. Their report, published in 1536, was destroyed in the reign of Mary, and hence we are unfortunately left without exact particulars of its statements ; but it certainly contained a slashing attack upon the smaller houses which were declared to be hotbeds of evil living. The truth is that the report proved too much. That there were badly conducted monasteries is certain, but that every one of the smaller monasteries was not disreputable is equally certain. The condition of a monastery would depend very largely upon its head ; that is to say, the tone of the monks would reflect fairly accurately the spiritual and mental calibre of its abbot, good or bad. Hence the indiscriminating condemnation of the smaller houses points clearly to the fact that the appointed Visitors compiled a report according to instructions received from Cromwell before their inspection. But why only the smaller ones ? The answer is not far to seek : these were the ones least able to resist the King, and if these could be dealt with successfully an attempt might next be made upon the larger ones.

On the basis of the report, an Act was passed for the suppression of every monastery whose annual revenues were less than £200, three hundred and seventy-six being involved. Their property became the possession of the King, some of the monks passed to the larger monasteries and some received pensions.

This was the last notable Act of the Reformation Parliament, which was dissolved in March, 1536.

Pilgrimage of Grace, 1536.

The dissolution of 1536 brought to a head a great deal of uneasiness which had been growing both in extent and in intensity ever since Henry's first measures against the Pope, and this suppression of the religious houses led to a belief that an attack was next to be launched against the churches. The north of England was strongly opposed to the Reformation and all its works and was prepared to defend its faith by force of arms. In October, 1536, Lincolnshire was the scene of an outbreak which was speedily and brutally suppressed.

But the disaffection spread to Yorkshire, where the situation became much more serious. The insurgents were led by a lawyer named Robert Aske, a moderate-minded man who hoped, by keeping his men in good order and by demonstrating their loyalty towards the King, to secure their demands. They adopted a banner showing the Five Wounds of Christ and they called their rising the "Pilgrimage of Grace". And indeed their orderly demonstration resembled a pilgrimage much more than an armed rebellion. As they marched south they seized York and received the surrender of Hull. Soon the revolt became more and more formidable, for the peasants who formed the original nucleus were joined by the gentry—who were mostly staunch Roman Catholics—and even by some nobles. The Duke of Norfolk was sent north at the head of the royal forces. At Doncaster he met the rebels and received a statement of their demands. These included the repeal of the ecclesiastical Acts of the Reformation Parliament and the calling of a new, free Parliament. Norfolk, whose forces were too feeble to fight, promised that the demands should be considered, whereupon the rebels dispersed. Before long some of them, seeing that their demands were not granted, began to riot. This was all that Henry was waiting for. Aske and several other leaders were hanged, and the whole of the north was treated with great brutality.

In order to prevent a recurrence of a similar outbreak in the future, Henry set up the *Council of the North*, which was in effect a branch of the Privy Council, permanently sitting at York, in order to maintain effectively royal authority in the northern shires, its President being virtually a viceroy.

Dissolution of the Larger Monasteries, 1539-1540.

A further result of the Pilgrimage of Grace was that, the only armed opposition to the dissolution of the monasteries having been defeated, Henry felt himself strong enough to deal with the larger monasteries. The basis of the attack against these was different from that against the smaller ones, for only against the latter had any general charge of corruption been made out. The suppression of the greater abbeyes was carried out individually. Pressure of various kinds was brought to bear upon each of the houses to induce them to "surrender" themselves to the King: some were cajoled by promises of generous treatment, others were frightened by threats. Only a very few remained obdurate to the end, and with these Cromwell and his agents knew how to deal. For example, the Abbot of Glastonbury remained undaunted by persuasion and force alike; he was therefore accused of having written against the King's divorce and was hanged as a traitor, his abbey being then forfeited to the King. The Parliament of 1539 ratified the dissolutions that had taken place since 1536 and it transferred to the King the remainder of the monasteries and their property. By the end of 1540 the process of dissolution was complete.

Results of the Dissolution.

The results, both immediate and ultimate, of the dissolution are beyond calculation. Something like one-fifteenth of the land of England passed into royal hands yielding an enormous income. The first charge upon this wealth was the support of the former inhabitants of the

monasteries: the abbots, abbesses and priors were given liberal allowances which enabled them to live in easy comfort, and the simple monks and nuns received pensions which, though modest in amount, at least saved them from starvation and want. This, remembering that they were able-bodied and fit to work in one way or another, was perhaps all that they could expect. Records show that these pensions were not merely nominal or temporary but that they continued to be paid for many years and, so far at least as evidence is available, until the deaths of the persons concerned. Thus, to suggest that Henry appropriated to himself the entire wealth of the monasteries is certainly misleading. Another necessary modification of such a statement is that, though he did far less for the Church and for education with monastic property than the nation had been led to believe he would do, he did set up six new bishoprics—namely, Oxford, Chester, Bristol, Peterborough, Gloucester and Westminster—and such centres of learning as Trinity College, Cambridge, and grammar schools in various parts of the country, as well as professorships in both universities. Further, part of the money obtained from sales of monastic lands was used to build ships and fortifications, a subject to which we shall return later in the present chapter.

Even these sources of expense, however, left much land and wealth still unaccounted for. Some of this the King retained for himself, but much of it he either gave or sold at cheap rates to courtiers or Members of Parliament. Herein, in two respects, lay the most far-reaching of all the results of the dissolution of the monasteries. First, the men who thus acquired property founded new landed families, many of whom produced men who a century later were to be the mainstay of Parliament in its struggle against the Stuart kings. Second, every man who possessed former monastic lands became at once, if he was not already, a staunch opponent of Roman Catholicism, for the return of England to that faith would certainly involve the

restoration of monastic lands to their former owners ; and when we remember that those lands were soon broken up and distributed among many thousands of landowners—forty thousand according to some computations—the reasons for Mary Tudor's failure to restore Roman Catholicism is not difficult to understand.

Upon the ordinary people the dissolution had adverse effects of a serious kind. The common folk had learned to look to the monasteries as sources of charity and help in all manner of need, and now this help was suddenly withdrawn. More serious still, whereas the monks appear to have been generally easy-going landlords content with traditional methods of agriculture, many of the new men who acquired the land were intent solely upon obtaining from it the maximum income. With this object they pressed on with enclosures for sheep-farming, which had first become common after the Black Death,¹ and hence caused an increase of poverty, unemployment and vagabondage. This is a subject to which we shall have to return under Edward VI and again under Elizabeth.

5. THE CLOSE OF THE REIGN, 1540–1547

By 1540 Henry VIII had definitely established his supremacy in every sphere of government. Yet the few remaining years of his reign were not by any means years of peace or ease, for the upheaval of the middle years of the reign had raised more questions than had yet been answered and, though the King had made some firm friends by his generosity in presenting them with other people's property, he had also made many enemies.

Character of Henry VIII's Reformation.

On the question of religious policy the division of opinion was clearly marked. Among members of the King's Council who wished to maintain Roman Catholicism were

¹ Chapter I, Section 1.

the Duke of Norfolk, Bishop Gardiner of Winchester and Bishop Bonner of London, while the Reformers were led by Archbishop Cranmer, Edward Seymour Earl of Hertford (brother of Henry's third wife), Hugh Latimer and Thomas Cromwell. The Reformers had hailed with delight Henry's attack upon the Pope and the monasteries, thinking, naturally enough, that this was but the prelude to the introduction of thoroughgoing Protestantism into England. But they were doomed to disappointment, the clearest proof of which was the *Act of Six Articles* passed in 1539, that is, three years after the end of the Reformation Parliament. This Act, far from promoting further changes, was intended to set limits beyond which the Reformers must not go. It therefore enforced :

1. Belief in the doctrine of transubstantiation (that is, that every time the priest at Mass blessed the bread and the wine he performed the miracle of "changing the substance" of those elements into the very body and blood of Christ).
2. Communion in one kind (that is, at Mass the priest alone took both the bread and the wine, the laity being given only the bread).
3. Celibacy of clergy (that is, a priest was not allowed to marry).
4. The observance of the priests' vows of chastity.
5. The observance of private Masses.
6. Regular confession to a priest.

The punishment for the denial of the first article was death, and for a breach of any of the other five was imprisonment or forfeiture of property. The significance of this Act is that all the doctrines and practices that it enjoined were—and are—Roman Catholic and not Protestant. That is to say, in this last, defining statute of the reign, so far as religion was concerned, Henry made clear that though he had broken from Rome he had not become a Protestant. This was *the* characteristic of the Reformation under Henry VIII. In one sense it was not truly a

Reformation at all, but it certainly opened the way for the Reformation of the following reigns.

In two important respects, however, the Reformers secured notable concessions, namely, in having an English Bible placed in the churches and in obtaining a regulation that Church services should be conducted mostly in English instead of in Latin. Reference was made above to Wyclif's translation of the Bible. In 1525 *William Tyndale*, with much risk to himself—resulting finally in his murder abroad at the hands of agents of the English bishops—issued another translation which had the advantage of the application of the new Renaissance knowledge and methods and of being multiplied by printing instead of by hand. Tyndale's was in one respect the most influential of all the English versions, for all subsequent versions have been deeply indebted to his. Several other translations and versions followed in quick succession. One of these alone concerns us here, namely, the "Great Bible" of 1539, the production of which had been due largely to the encouragement of Thomas Cromwell, who, whatever the defects of his character, was a consistent supporter of Bible translation. In 1539 Cromwell, as Vicegerent, ordered that a copy of the Great Bible should be placed in each church. Though only a few people were able to read, groups would gather regularly to listen while one of their number read to them or perhaps only painfully spelled out the verses. This spread of Bible-knowledge went far to diminish the exclusive supremacy which hitherto the priests had been able to exercise over their people. Allied to this victory of the Reformation was the issue in 1544 of the present Litany and in 1545 of a service-book, so that henceforward services other than the Mass, were conducted in English instead of Latin.

Fall of Cromwell, 1540.

The introduction of an English Bible to the churches was Cromwell's last notable act. The death of Catherine

of Aragon in January, 1536, was marked not by mourning but by high festivity at Court, the gayest person of all being Anne Boleyn. This increased the revulsion of feeling entertained by most decent men of all ranks and classes against the callousness of the King. Henry, like all the Tudors except his elder daughter Mary, was ever sensitive to the wishes of his subjects. Almost at once he became aware that he disliked the Queen, and in May, 1536, she was executed after being found guilty of a number of terrible crimes. Cranmer then managed to find pretexts for declaring that she had never been Henry's lawful wife. Henry immediately married Lady Jane Seymour, and a *Second Succession Act* was passed which settled the succession on the children of Jane Seymour, excluded those of Catherine of Aragon and of Anne Boleyn, and empowered Henry, if he survived all his children, to nominate his own successor. It was this same Parliament which passed an Act giving to the King's Proclamations the force of law.¹ Next year Henry received the desire of his heart in the birth of a son, Prince Edward, though at the same time he lost his Queen.

Not until 1540 did Henry marry again, and then he did so at the instance of Cromwell and for political reasons. For two years previous to that date attempts had been made by the Roman Catholics of England and of the Continent to arrange a joint invasion of England for the restoration of their faith. To counteract this move, the English Reformers, headed by Cranmer and Cromwell, had negotiated with the German Protestants with the object of keeping the Emperor busily engaged at home. To cement an alliance between England and the German Protestants, Cromwell induced Henry to marry Anne, daughter of the Protestant Duke of Cleves. As a reward for his successful handling of the marriage negotiations Cromwell was created Earl of Essex in May, 1540. But when Henry saw his new wife he found her so ill-favoured

¹ Chapter IX, Section 3.

that he not only disliked her at first sight but also vented his wrath upon the man who was responsible for the match. On a trumped-up charge of treason Cromwell was executed in July.

The Succession.

Incidentally, Cranmer obligingly nullified this marriage also. Anne of Cleves was given a pension and, before 1540 was out, Henry married Catherine Howard. She also displeased him and she also was got rid of by way of execution. In 1543 Henry married Catherine Parr, who tended him during his closing years and managed to survive him safely.

None of these last three marriages brought Henry any further children. Hence, as the young Prince Edward was a sickly child who quite possibly might die before his father, the succession to the throne was still precarious. Accordingly in 1544 a *Third Succession Act* placed both Mary the daughter of Catherine of Aragon and Elizabeth the daughter of Anne Boleyn in the succession after Prince Edward, at the same time reaffirming Henry's right, if the necessity arose, to nominate his own successor.

Royal Navy.

Several other factors in the reign of Henry VIII call for notice, but most of them are best postponed until they can be dealt with more comprehensively as part of larger subjects. Among these are his relations with Scotland (Chapter VII) and with Parliament (Chapter IX).

But one item of especial importance deserves separate mention here, namely, his contribution to the establishment of the Royal Navy. Until his day there had been no distinction between merchant ships and men-o'-war: in times of war merchant vessels were commandeered and armed in a primitive kind of way, and that was all. But Henry VIII began the practice of constructing ships strong enough to bear the heaviest guns of the day, these ships

being designed for efficiency in war rather than in the carrying of cargo. The ship which was the pioneer in these respects was the *Great Harry*, which for size and efficiency was the mightiest vessel of the day. Moreover, it was the property not of a private merchant but of the King, and though Henry VII also had owned ships, the prominence which Henry VIII gave to this policy justifies the claim that the latter was the pioneer of the Royal Navy. The *Great Harry* and other ships were built with part of the money derived from the sale of monastic lands. That wealth was used also to improve the coastal defences.

Henry also granted a Charter in 1514 to the Association of Mariners for the establishment of *Trinity House* which was made responsible for erecting beacons and other indications of dangerous points on the coast.

Henry thus justly deserves the title of "Father of the English Navy".

Character of Henry VIII.

To try to estimate the character of a man so versatile as Henry VIII is to undertake the most difficult of any task connected with his reign. All that we can do here is to try to find some fairly coherent meaning in the various aspects of his career. The outstanding feature of the reign was the personal supremacy of Henry in every department of Government: he had great ministers—Wolsey, More, Cromwell—but, for all their greatness, they seemed little better than puppets made and unmade at the King's will, to be employed while they served the royal purpose and flung aside when they were of no further use; nominally he ruled through Parliament, yet Parliament seemed like clay in his hands, as is shown by its changing regulations respecting the succession to the throne and by its giving to royal proclamations the force of law; the Church, though one of the oldest and most strongly entrenched institutions in the land, was compelled to accept the royal will as to its fate; and even the Queens appeared and

disappeared at the King's commands. In achieving and maintaining this eminence of unquestioned supremacy, Henry was not hampered by moral scruples or by any considerations of loyalty to individuals. Neither of these seems to have had any meaning for him, and the decisive factor at every turn in the reign was the passing desire of the King. As the years went by, Henry became more and more passionately tyrannical. The fact was that his unfettered absolutism produced an undesirable effect upon the character of Henry himself: the ability to get his own way in everything developed the worst side of his nature so that he became despotic and callous in the highest degree.

Yet notwithstanding his supremacy, Henry can hardly be regarded as a statesman, using the term to mean the ability to conceive broad lines of policy coupled with the ability to take the right and effective steps for achieving that policy. The main lines of English statecraft under Henry VIII were those suggested by his ministers. In foreign affairs, for example, Henry's vision was limited to the traditional line of enmity against France, with the object of recovering the lands of his ancestors in that country. The need for modifying that policy in view of new contemporary conditions did not occur to him, and in so far as we have seen him depart from it he did so only at the instance of Wolsey and Cromwell.

When all this has been said respecting the limitations of Henry's mind and the egotism which always dominated his actions, one thing on the other side must be fully conceded, namely, that without any doubt he was warmly and genuinely concerned for the welfare of England. This was fully recognized by the men of his own time who seem never to have been impressed as we are with the blemishes of his character and life. To his countrymen he was always "Bluff King Hal", and it was well for England that in those difficult days she had a King who, whatever his limitations, retained to the end the affection and confidence of his people.

CHAPTER V

EDWARD VI, 1547-1553

I. CONDITION OF ENGLAND

The Young King.

THE will which Henry VIII had made, under the terms of the Third Succession Act of 1544, had left the crown to Prince Edward; if Edward had no descendants, the crown was to pass to the Princess Mary; if she had no descendants, it was to go to the Princess Elizabeth; and if her line also failed, the next successor was to be Henry's younger sister Mary—thus deliberately ignoring the claims of his elder sister Margaret, who had been married to James IV of Scotland. By virtue of this will Edward, though only nine years old, became King on the death of his father in January, 1547.

But the intellectual development of the new King was not to be measured by his years. From mere infancy he had shown a passion for learning of every kind, particularly of languages, for which, like all the Tudors, he had a special aptitude. Nor was his mental agility limited to memorizing the learning of other men. He formed definite opinions of his own and was quite able to give reasons for his views: he was accustomed, for example, to summon his half-sister Mary, who was nearly twenty-two years his senior and a confirmed Roman Catholic, in order that he might lecture her at great length upon the error of her religious ways—and Mary had to listen when commanded by the King, even though he was her little brother! This

aptly illustrates the priggishness of Edward's character. Indeed, he was not at all attractive personally. Though he died when only sixteen years old, he had already shown very distinct signs of cruelty and tyranny and, had he lived to full manhood, he might well have proved a fitting successor to his father.

Still, though Edward was unduly precocious intellectually, he was only a boy in experience of men. This was particularly unfortunate for England at such a juncture when in several respects, above all in social conditions and in religion, the nation was being subject to the stress of conflicting forces.

Enclosures.

Though the coming of the Tudors had improved the lot of the common people by bringing peace to the state and by restraining the oppressiveness of the barons, no effective measures had been taken to remedy another cause of increasing distress which affected especially the peasant class, namely, the enclosure of lands for the purpose of sheep-rearing. Throughout the reigns of the first two Tudors this process had continued with ever-increasing speed, causing widespread distress and unsettlement. An estate whose arable land had employed all the available labour of a village could, when converted into a sheep-run, be served sufficiently by a few shepherds and their dogs. The men who were then surplus to the lord's requirements were usually turned adrift. Even if this did not happen, the enclosure by the lord of much of the common land of the village—through greediness to secure as much land as possible for the profitable business of sheep-rearing—deprived the peasants of the opportunity of grazing thereon a few animals which hitherto had formed a valuable means of supplementing their ordinary incomes. The result was that large numbers of peasants, entirely deprived of sustenance, became wandering vagabonds and thereby a constant menace to the good order of the kingdom.

The seriousness of this situation, from the point of view both of the plight of the peasants and of the disorder in the country, attracted the attention of serious-minded men of all classes. Sir Thomas More, in his *Utopia*, had written strongly about the wrongs of the peasants; and Latimer in his courageous sermons declaimed vigorously against the greed of the lords. Some prospect of improvement appeared when Wolsey in 1517 sent commissioners throughout England to gather information about the enclosures which had taken place during the previous thirty years; yet he does not seem to have taken active measures to deal with the evils that were revealed. Subsequently, Acts were passed with reference to particular aspects of the matter: one in 1534 forbade any individual's owning more than two thousand sheep. Unfortunately, at that time a process was about to begin which accelerated the enclosure movement, namely, the dissolution of the monasteries; for the new owners of the former monastery-lands, being more energetic and less sympathetic than the monks, soon proceeded to turn their lands into sheep-farms.

The failure to take effective measures to deal with evils so generally recognized was due mainly to the fact that representation in Parliament was in practice limited almost solely to landowners, so that those who had the power to carry out reforms were the men who had no desire to do so, while the poor were themselves powerless. This problem of the land, with its attendant economic difficulties, was a legacy from the past to Edward VI and would need wise and firm statesmanship for its solution.

Debased Coinage.

The distress which thus prevailed among the poor was aggravated by another evil which Edward VI inherited from the past, chiefly from his father, that is, the debasement of the coinage. Henry VIII was by no means the first English king to tamper with the standard fineness of money, for the process had been begun by Edward III.

Also, Henry found himself in the grip of economic forces which he did not in the least understand and is, therefore, to be pardoned in some measure if he blundered in dealing with them. These forces were the result of the influx of the precious metals from the new Spanish possessions in South America. The larger quantities of silver and gold available caused a general rise in prices, and Henry, though not in the least realizing the explanation of his difficulties, found himself in financial straits. He eased himself by issuing from the Mint coins containing less than their face value of gold or silver. By this means the King made a profit on every coin issued.

Our present concern is less with the actual debasement of the coinage by Henry VIII than with its social effects under Edward VI. When the decline in the value of money became realized, prices rose still further so that what the royal exchequer had gained in one direction it lost in another, while the nation as a whole had to suffer from the rise in prices without any compensation whatever. The people who felt the burden most severely were the poor, who found yet another affliction added to those they already endured through the enclosures and the dissolution of the monasteries.

Council of Sixteen.

The most difficult of the problems facing the young King was connected with religion. That the English people generally agreed with the break from a foreign Pope was certain, but equally certain was the fact that the anomalous situation thereby created could not be permanent. Henry VIII's aim had been simply to step into the place of the Pope in England; but experience was to prove that the Papacy and Roman Catholic doctrine were inseparable, so that they stood or fell together. In short, the logical result of the break from the Pope must sooner or later be the rejection of the Roman Catholic faith. Henry's attempted solution of the religious difficulty had

pleased no one. Even his own Council became the scene of bitter antagonism between the orthodox Catholics and the thoroughgoing Reformers.¹ This division was the chief cause of anxiety to Henry when he realized that his end was approaching: he knew that the nation as a whole was not yet ready for religious changes in either direction and that any attempt at such change before Edward was old enough to keep a firm hold upon events would be fatal to the peace of the state and might be fatal to the Tudor dynasty.

In order to maintain as even a balance as possible between the two sides, Henry appointed in his will a Council of Regency consisting of sixteen members, of whom eight were Catholics and eight were Reformers. This Council was to govern England until Edward should become of full age.

2. THE DUKE OF SOMERSET

This scheme of Henry VIII for the government of England after his death never had a chance to work, for its author had scarcely breathed his last when the Reformers on the Council managed, by adroit manœuvring, to get the upper hand and to appoint one of their leaders as the sole guardian of the King and Lord Protector of the Realm. The man thus honoured was the King's uncle, Edward Seymour, Lord Hertford. Seymour obtained for himself the title of Duke of Somerset and set about pushing on the Reformation in England. In this he had the warm support of the King who, notwithstanding his tender years, had definite ideas about religion.

Somerset was as unfortunate a choice for the Lord Protectorship at such a juncture as could be imagined. In ideas and purposes he was sane and enlightened. Yet he lacked the ability to deal with men and to carry his good projects into execution. As illustrating this double characteristic—sound ideas bungled in practice—working itself

¹ Chapter IV, Section 5.

out in Somerset's career, we shall select particularly three events of his Protectorship, namely, his relations with Scotland, his religious policy, and his attitude towards enclosures.

Scotland.

Somerset's aim for Scotland was nothing less than the revival of the pet scheme of most English rulers since Edward I, namely, the uniting of Scotland and England under one king. Henry VII had hoped to promote this purpose by the marriage of his daughter Margaret to James IV. Under Somerset a golden opportunity seemed to present itself for the fulfilment of these hopes: when James V of Scotland had died after the Battle of Solway Moss¹ in 1542 he left a baby daughter Mary, who thus became the Queen of Scotland though the actual government was in the hands of the Queen-Mother, Mary of Guise. Thus at Edward VI's accession the Scottish Queen was five years of age, and Somerset suggested that she and Edward should be betrothed. The Scots, however, were strongly averse to the idea, for they feared that the ultimate result would be the absorption of Scotland by England and hence the loss of Scottish nationality, for Scotland was immensely the poorer country and, also, the Scottish representative in the marriage would be only Queen and not King.

In such circumstances, Somerset's policy clearly should have been to accept the Scottish refusal courteously and to maintain friendly relations with the northern government so as to win its confidence, in the hope that, when the time seemed ripe for the renewal of the marriage-project, better success might attend his efforts. Yet this was exactly what Somerset did not do. Instead, he led an army across the border, met the Scots at the *Battle of Pinkie* (September, 1547) and routed them thoroughly. By so doing, Somerset had wrecked any chance of success

¹ Chapter VII, Section 4.

his scheme ever had. The Scots, thus rendered more bitterly hostile towards the marriage, sent their young Queen to France, where in 1548, she was betrothed to the Dauphin.

A clearer example could hardly be desired of how Somerset ruined the achievement of a sound idea by his utter incompetence in carrying it out.

Religious Policy.

In religious affairs the same characteristic is displayed hardly less plainly. Somerset was a sincere, enthusiastic Reformer and his great desire was to promote the spread of a thorough-going Reformation, as distinct from Henry VIII's changes in Church-government only. Yet the methods he adopted were so ill-considered and extreme that they alienated the very people whose support was most essential, namely, the mass of moderate-minded men who had favoured Henry VIII's revolt against the Pope and who, by judicious leadership, might have been persuaded to favour a thorough Reformation. Somerset, instead of leading, tried to drive the nation. This caused resentment and so defeated the Protector's fondest hopes.

During 1547 "Visitors" were sent all over England to inspect the churches. They destroyed the images, removed stained-glass windows containing figures of saints, and whitewashed the frescoes on the walls. Somerset's reason for these measures was that ignorant people, unable to distinguish between worshipping before a statue and worshipping the statue, were practising something very like idolatry. But, even granting some element of truth in this view, the mass of people regarded interference with churches in which their fathers had been worshipping for generations as sacrilege; and the harsh and inconsiderate way in which the commissioners carried out their work aroused deep resentment among many who were favourably inclined towards Reformation doctrines. Worse still, the visitation was often made an excuse for plundering

the churches of their ~~valuable~~ silver plate. The opposition to these measures of spoliation was led by Bishops Bonner and Gardiner, both of whom were accordingly imprisoned.

In 1547, also, Parliament repealed the Act of Six Articles and all Acts against heretics as well as the Act giving to royal proclamations the force of law. An *Act of Uniformity*, passed in 1549, prohibited the use of the Latin Mass and enforced the use of a service-book written entirely in English, though the prayers it contained were mainly translations of those customary in the Roman Catholic Church. This was the *First English Prayer Book*. Archbishop Cranmer was responsible for the form it took, and its beautiful English prose was chiefly his work. With the object of offending as few people as possible and of making the book acceptable to men of various shades of religious belief, he left its references to contentious doctrines as ambiguous as possible.

Chantries and Gilds.

Late in the reign of Henry VIII an attack had been made upon the *Chantries*. These were foundations endowed sometimes by individuals and sometimes by corporate bodies such as gilds. In either case the endowment supported priests whose duty was to say masses for the souls of their founders or to carry out religious functions connected with the corporations. Hundreds of these chantries existed in various parts of England, and Henry VIII, coveting their endowments, ordered their suppression.

At the same time Henry had attacked the gilds themselves. During the Middle Ages the gilds had been the centre of the social life of the people. Established originally for the regulation of the conditions of trade, of the quality of goods, and of prices, the gilds had extended their activities in many directions: they cared for their members in case of illness; they provided for the burial of poor members and for the support of their families; they organized processions, festivals and plays. Quite commonly the gilds

supported priests whose duties were similar to those of chantry-priests. Henry VIII, therefore, in 1547 ordered the suppression of the religious activities of the gilds and the confiscation of that part of gild-funds used for religious purposes. The enforcement of this order was not carried out until the reign of Edward VI. To distinguish exactly between the religious and the secular funds of the gilds was not always easy ; and too frequently the commissioners, appointed to execute the work, erred on the side of appropriating more than their just proportion of gild wealth.

Not infrequently the duty of the chantry-priest had included teaching the children of the parish. Part of the appropriated funds of such chantries was devoted in some instances to establish or re-establish schools, which thus became *King Edward VI Grammar Schools*.

In 1549 the attack on the gilds was carried still further by an Act of Parliament which declared that certain of the powers which the gilds had exercised were henceforward illegal ; for example, workmen were not to agree together to raise wages or shorten hours. The result was that the gilds rapidly declined throughout the country, except in London which was exempt from the operation of the 1549 Act. These measures caused intense ill-feeling against Somerset, who was held to be responsible for the policy they embodied. The exemption of London was particularly resented by the other towns, for they knew that its favourable treatment was due to the Government's fear of offending the City.

Lord Seymour.

A further cause of hostility to Somerset was his treatment of his brother, Lord Seymour of Sudely. The latter, moved by jealousy, did his utmost to create difficulties for the Government in spite of his owing to the Protector both his title and his office of Lord High Admiral. Within two months of the death of Henry VIII, Seymour married

the Queen, Catherine Parr, and when the latter died he did his best to arrange a marriage with the Princess Elizabeth; he set up two cannon-foundries, forged coins, kept large numbers of armed retainers, and fortified himself in his castle in Cheshire as though he were an independent baron. There is ample evidence that, through unscrupulous ambition, Seymour was plotting to overthrow and supplant his brother who, in 1549, had no alternative to seizing him on a charge of treason. A Bill of Attainder—that is, a Bill stating the charges against the accused and the penalties to be imposed—was passed against him, and Seymour was executed.

He richly deserved his fate, and had he been tried in a law-court where he could have defended himself, he would certainly have been condemned. Nevertheless, Somerset was regarded as having killed his own brother and as having used an arbitrary method of doing so because the case involved a threat to his own person. Thus the Protector, for having done his duty to the state, even against his own brother, brought discredit upon himself.

Rebellions, 1549.

If Somerset had acted with similar sternness in all cases of threatened rebellion, his career might have had a more fortunate ending. The events of the Protectorship which we have traced—the religious changes, the attack on the gilds, and the execution of Seymour—all roused opposition to him. This opposition came to a head in a series of rebellions which centred in the west and in East Anglia respectively.

The disaffection in the west was due to the introduction of Cranmer's English Prayer Book, for the people of Devon and Cornwall were staunch Roman Catholics who would not countenance the Protestant innovations. The insurrection soon assumed serious proportions: thousands of men were in arms and Exeter was seized. Somerset's religious convictions led him to adopt stern measures against his opponents. So widespread was the revolt that

the Government had to employ German mercenaries, and even they had extreme difficulty in holding their own. Finally, after severe fighting in which some four thousand rebels lost their lives, the revolt was quelled.

A very different story has to be told of events in the east where the causes were exclusively social. The easterners, being mostly Protestants, had no objection to Somerset's religious reforms but the peasants were severely hit by the enclosures while the townsmen, particularly those of Norwich, were incensed by the attack on the gilds. Because East Anglia was predominantly agricultural, the opposition to enclosures was the chief cause of unrest, and for that reason Somerset sympathized with the rebels. His sense of justice showed him that they had a real grievance. Hence, instead of suppressing the revolt firmly, he negotiated and compromised. The rebels, sensing the situation, were thereby encouraged to make further demands. Led by Robert and William Ket, they encamped sixteen thousand strong on Mousehold Hill whence they could overawe Norwich. Levies of provisions were laid upon the countryside, and sheep—the cause of the insurgents' unemployment—were slaughtered in large numbers. Finally Norwich itself was seized. Yet still Somerset refused to act decisively. At last the Council—who realized, as the Protector did not, that a government's first business is to govern—sent against the rebels someone who could be relied upon to take stern measures. The man selected was the Earl of Warwick, who attacked and routed the rebel armies, the leaders, including the two brothers Ket, being executed.

Fall of Somerset.

That the eastern rebellion had been suppressed over the head of Somerset was a serious blow to his prestige. Warwick used the situation to advance his own interests: returning to London with something of the glory of a conqueror, he managed to divide the Council into two

factions of which the Protector's was the weaker. In November, 1549, Somerset was sent to the Tower and his property was confiscated. In February, 1550, he was released and recovered part of his property, but he had ceased for ever to be Protector.

3. THE DUKE OF NORTHUMBERLAND

His Character.

The man who became all-powerful on the Council in succession to Somerset was, naturally, the Earl of Warwick. In every respect the change was for the worse. Warwick seems to have been devoid of moral principle and scruple, the only motive of his actions being ambitious self-seeking. He belonged to the same party among the Councillors as did Somerset, that is, he was a Reformer, but his adherence to Protestantism seems to have been due to a desire to be on the winning side rather than to honest principle: he was shrewd enough to perceive not only that King Edward was a sincere Protestant but also that the nation as a whole would never return to orthodox Roman Catholicism. Though he did not take the rank of Protector, his position being that of Lord President of the Council, Warwick had the reality of power and used it for his own advantage, heedless of the welfare of the country.

The condition of the nation quickly went from bad to worse: under Somerset the people had suffered through the incapacity of a sincere man; under Northumberland they suffered under organized self-seeking. The coinage was deliberately manipulated for the benefit of Northumberland and his friends until it was debased to about one-quarter of its face value. In order to secure the support of the great landowners, he allowed the process of enclosure to continue unchecked, even dissolving a Commission that had been set up to deal with the evil. The ill-effects of both these measures fell harshly upon the poor folk and added seriously to their hardships.

In one respect only is there evidence of any regard for the lot of the common people during Northumberland's régime, namely, the passage in 1552 of a *Poor Law*. It enacted that in every parish two men should be appointed to collect gifts each week for the relief of needy parishioners ; and people who obstinately refused to contribute for this purpose were, in the last resort, to be dealt with by the Bishop.

Death of Somerset.

The weakness of Warwick's position lay in the person of Somerset who, however incapable as Protector, was soon recognized as preferable to his ruffianly successor. His destruction was therefore decided upon. Warwick in October 1551 was given the title of Duke of Northumberland, and he determined to strike before it was too late. Somerset was imprisoned in the Tower and convicted on a charge of conspiring to overthrow Northumberland. The penalty was death, and Somerset was executed in January, 1552. The execution was signalized by a great outburst of public sympathy with the victim, so that the effect of Somerset's death was to focus and intensify the popular antagonism towards Northumberland. The latter seems not to have understood the significance of this opposition and, confident of his strength now that his rival had been removed, he pressed on with his schemes, especially those connected with the Church.

Ecclesiastical Changes.

Already the Reformation movement had been carried far beyond the point at which Somerset had left it. The work of destroying images and stained-glass windows had gone on apace, so had the spoliation of church plate and property. Strong Roman Catholics and even moderate men were removed from high office : Bishops Bonner of London, Gardiner of Winchester, and Heath of Worcester, were imprisoned in the Tower, their sees being taken by

Ridley, Ponet and Hooper respectively. In this work Northumberland had the warm support of the King, and we may safely guess that the desire to establish himself more firmly in royal favour was one of the chief reasons for the extreme ecclesiastical measures.

In 1552 a *Second Prayer Book* was issued. This was much more distinctly Protestant in tone and in doctrine than the first one. In the same year a *Second Act of Uniformity* enforced the use of this Prayer Book and enacted the imposition of a shilling fine for absence from church where the book was used. At the same time an attempt was made to familiarize the common people with Reformation tenets: for this purpose foreign Protestant teachers were introduced into England in large numbers, some of them being given posts in the Universities. In order to make clear the basis of reformed doctrine, in 1553 *Forty-Two Articles of Religion* were promulgated, all of which were strongly Protestant.

The Succession.

If Northumberland's strength lay in the support of Edward, events were soon to prove that therein lay also his chief weakness. Before 1552 was out, the young King's health was visibly failing, and by the beginning of 1553 consumption was evidently fast advancing upon him. The succession to the throne therefore became a critical issue: by Henry VIII's will the next claimant would be the Princess Mary who, as a devout Roman Catholic, would certainly try to sweep away the Protestant innovations and to restore England to full communion with the Pope. Such measures would involve the fall of the Reformers of whom none would be in so precarious a situation as the hated and distrusted Northumberland. Accordingly, Northumberland began to plan some other line of succession.

The person upon whom his mind fixed was Lady Jane Grey, who was the granddaughter of Mary, Henry VIII's

younger sister who, after the death of her first husband, Louis XII of France, had married the Duke of Suffolk.¹ Northumberland, knowing the intensity of the King's Protestantism, first pointed out to Edward the obvious fact that the succession of Mary would mean the destruction of all that the Reformation had achieved in England, and he then suggested that this should be prevented by a royal will which set aside the claims of the Princesses Mary and Elizabeth and which left the crown to Lady Jane Grey, who was a sincere Reformer. This advice Edward took, and in so doing seemed to be following the precedent of his father; but between the two there was a vital difference, for Henry VIII had left the crown by will under the sanction of an Act of Parliament, and hence Edward's reversal of the terms of his father's will was equivalent to a violation of that Act. Thus Edward's will had no legal standing and was merely a last gambling throw by Northumberland to secure himself in power. As a further guarantee of that power, previous to the will, Northumberland's son Lord Guildford Dudley had married Lady Jane Grey so that, if the latter came to the throne, Northumberland would be the father-in-law to the Queen. Within a few weeks of the signature of this will, the project was put to a practical test: on 6th July, 1553, Edward VI died.

The Nine Days' Queen.

Northumberland's first step was to try to arrest Mary before she heard of the King's death. But Mary had the news in time and immediately fled out of her enemy's clutches to her friends the Howards in Norfolk. The declaration of Lady Jane Grey as Queen on 10th July was received coldly in London, and the forces which Northumberland had at his disposal both on land and on sea turned against him, while everywhere men were rallying to Mary. This was not due to popular hostility to Lady Jane, who was only sixteen years of age and who did her utmost to

¹ See Table, Chapter III, Section 1.

avoid the part that was being thrust upon her ; but everywhere the opposition was against Northumberland who, if Lady Jane Grey became Queen, would be more powerful than ever. The climax was reached when Northumberland, having led an army to seize Mary in Norfolk, found his men falling away from him so fast that, on 20th July, in the Market Place at Cambridge, he was compelled himself to declare for Mary. Lady Jane Grey had been only a " Nine Days' Queen ". Mary had been proclaimed Queen in London as soon as Northumberland had left the city. His change of sides did him no good : he was arrested and, with Lady Jane and Lord Guildford Dudley, was imprisoned in the Tower. Northumberland, after vainly declaring that his profession of the Reformed faith was a pretence, was executed. His ambitious scheme had thus failed, and Mary Tudor became the first reigning Queen in English history.

CHAPTER VI

MARY, 1553-1558

I. MARY'S POLICY

The Religious Position, 1555.

WE do well to remember that our view of the reign of Mary, as we look back upon it, is very different from the view of the folk who in 1553 were looking forward into it. We, knowing that Mary's successors have formed a long, unbroken line of Protestant sovereigns, are apt to regard her reign as a kink in the normal development of English history ; but in 1553 England had known only one Protestant reign—the brief and not very attractive one of Edward VI—so that the restoration of Roman Catholicism then seemed to be a return to the natural order of things. Moreover, though in our minds the name of Mary Tudor is inseparably associated with the persecution of Protestants, the people of her own day saw no reason to dread her accession. On the contrary, the mass of folk had drawn the conclusion that, if Northumberland and his followers were typical, Protestants were too often men who rejected Roman Catholicism because they hoped to profit by doing so. The nation therefore gladly welcomed the daughter of Henry VIII to the throne, and the general belief seems to have been that Mary, being a Catholic, would restore the ecclesiastical system of her father.

This did not accord with Mary's intention. At her accession the new Queen was thirty-seven years old with a fully formed character that had been moulded by the

harsh circumstances of her girlhood. Her childhood, overshadowed by the disgrace of her mother's divorce, had been spent in loneliness which she had occupied in brooding upon her wrongs. To her mind, those wrongs and Protestantism were synonymous terms. Small wonder if her religion had a bitter personal quality which warped her whole outlook on life. Though in some of her accomplishments—her aptitude for languages and for music, and her personal courage—she resembled the other Tudors, in the most important characteristic she was different from them all, namely, in the ability to understand her people and to win their affectionate confidence. The failure of the efforts of Northumberland and of Edward to exclude her from the throne confirmed Mary's belief that her accession was a heaven-sent opportunity to restore England not merely to the Catholicism of Henry VIII but to a thoroughgoing *Roman* Catholicism. By so doing she would win the favour of God and would wipe out the stigma which had rested upon her since her mother's divorce. It was in this spirit that Mary set to work to achieve her mission of Romanizing the English people.

Early Changes.

At first Mary went cautiously, and there was little in the opening acts of her reign to cause serious apprehension to moderate men. Archbishop Cranmer of Canterbury, and Bishops Ridley and Latimer of London and Worcester, were sent to the Tower. Bonner and Gardiner were restored to their former Bishoprics of London and Winchester—Gardiner being made Lord Chancellor also—and Cardinal Pole was appointed Papal Legate with the special task of reuniting England to Rome, though he did not arrive in England until November, 1554. The Poles were a semi-royal house and the Cardinal was a distant cousin of Mary. As an orthodox Roman Catholic he had become an exile from England during the persecution under Henry VIII, since when he had lived on the Continent.

Mary, on her own authority, restored the Latin Mass and forbade the use of the English Prayer Book; she also ordered that the clergy who had married, by permission of Edward VI's legislation, should either separate from their wives or lose their livings. As a result of these two regulations, ten bishops and a large proportion of lower clergy left their positions which were then filled with orthodox men. Mary's first Parliament met in October, 1553. It confirmed the ecclesiastical changes that the Queen had already made, repealed the ecclesiastical Acts of the reign of Edward VI, restored the religious settlement as it stood in the last year of King Henry VIII but petitioned the Queen to marry an Englishman.

Had Mary been content with this reinstatement of Henry VIII's Catholicism, especially if she had consented also to a marriage with some English noble, she would have won the loyal support of the great bulk of the nation whom she might ultimately have led back to complete union with Rome. Mary, however, had a mentality very like that of Somerset: she combined sincere devotion to a religious cause with complete inability to achieve her object; and, like Somerset, she tried to drive where she might have led.

2. THE SPANISH MARRIAGE

Mary's Attitude.

Any of the other Tudors would have understood and respected the fear implied in Parliament's request that the Queen should take an English husband. But Mary adhered rigidly to the determination she had already reached on the matter. As soon as her reign opened she became aware of the need for support in her religious policy, and she turned naturally to Spain which was the leading Roman Catholic state in Europe and which could also be relied upon to help to redress the wrongs of Catherine of Aragon. Spain was one of the possessions of Mary's

cousin, the Emperor Charles V, who was represented in England by his ambassador Renard. The suggestion of Renard seems to have been responsible originally for Mary's plan of a marriage with Philip, the son and heir of Charles V. Gradually, as she dwelt upon the project, it fixed itself immovably in her mind and she became infatuated with Philip, though she had never seen more than a portrait of him. Mary believed that the close support of a marriage-alliance with Spain would ensure beyond doubt the success of her religious aims.

Wyatt's Revolt, 1554.

The English people, on the other hand, viewed the project with equally unalterable repugnance. This was due to the fear that, though Philip might be excluded from an active share in English government while Mary lived, after her death England would be ruled by a son of Philip and Mary who would be brought up in Spain. England would then be in grave danger of losing its national independence and becoming a mere outlying province of the Spanish Empire similar in status to the Netherlands. Though paper-safeguards against such a situation might be secured before the marriage took place, there was no guarantee that these would be respected if, during Mary's lifetime, the Spaniards had secured a firm foothold in England.

So deep were the national misgivings on the subject that a widespread revolt was planned to frustrate the marriage before too late. The leaders included the Duke of Suffolk (father of Lady Jane Grey), Sir Peter Carew and Sir Thomas Wyatt. Their aim was to marry the Princess Elizabeth to Edward Courtenay, Earl of Devon, and to place her on the throne instead of Mary. News of the plot leaked out, and in January, 1554, the leaders were consequently obliged to act before their plans were complete.

The only part of the scheme that was carried out was a rising in Kent led by Wyatt who obtained a following of

about five thousand men. Full of confidence, the insurgents marched towards London, where they were assured of a welcome. A force of Londoners, sent out to check Wyatt's advance, deserted to his side taking their guns with them. The approach of the rebels was viewed with serious alarm by the councillors of the Queen who, when the danger was brought home to her, showed great personal courage. She went into the city and addressed a large crowd of hostile Londoners: as their Queen she appealed for their loyalty; as a woman she threw herself upon their chivalry; and as a dutiful sovereign she declared that she would never marry without the consent of Parliament. The result was decisive. The citizens cheered their Queen and barricaded London Bridge so effectively that Wyatt was unable to cross. This settled the fate of the rising. London Bridge was then the first bridge up the River Thames, and Wyatt had to march his men up to Kingston and convey them across in boats. Every step beyond London Bridge was a step farther from home and, what was of even greater consequence, the support of the Londoners had been shown to be a delusion. As a result, the insurgents began to break away, though Wyatt continued bravely to lead what had become a forlorn hope. He managed to enter London but was compelled to surrender.

The success of Mary's action in addressing the Londoners is worth more than a passing reference. It affords conclusive proof that she was not personally unpopular or entirely devoid of the Tudor faculty for managing her subjects. If throughout her reign she had used similar methods of persuasion instead of force, she might have been as completely successful as she was at this particular point, and the trend of all subsequent history would thereby have been altered.

The immediate effects of the rising were not only that Wyatt himself was executed but also that the opportunity was taken to get rid of Lord Guildford Dudley, Lady Jane

Grey and the Duke of Suffolk, all of whom were executed during February, 1554. Mary, Gardiner and Renard were all bent upon the destruction of the Princess Elizabeth also, but as Wyatt was firm in declaring that she was innocent of complicity in the rising, no case could be made out against her and she had to be released, though a close watch was kept upon her.

The larger result of the failure of Wyatt's revolt was that Mary felt strong enough to proceed with the marriage and with her plans for reunion with Rome.

The Marriage Treaty.

In April, 1554, Parliament was induced to consent to the marriage and to the treaty which laid down the conditions on which it was to be allowed. By the terms of the Treaty, Philip was to be King of England only during Mary's lifetime and even then was to have no voice in matters relating to the army or navy or revenue, nor was any foreigner to hold office ; England was not to be obliged to make war against France to aid Spain ; and, while the son of Philip and his first wife was to inherit Spain and the Spanish possessions in America and Italy, the issue of Philip and Mary was to rule England and the Netherlands.

These were the minimum terms on which Parliament could be persuaded to agree to the marriage, and though they represented less than Mary wanted, she had to be content. In July, 1554, Philip landed at Southampton, and the marriage took place at Winchester, which was Gardiner's own Cathedral. Philip did his utmost to please his new subjects : he adopted English customs and tried to make himself affably agreeable. But it was all too superficial to last. Worst of all, he found nothing attractive in Mary, whose plain features and gruff voice contrasted sharply with the Spaniard's idea of a princess. Mary, who had conceived an excessive affection for Philip, could not long deceive herself about his cold demeanour. At the end of twelve months Philip was unable any longer

to endure either his bride or England and, taking advantage of the excuse that his father Charles V was about to hand over to him the government of the Netherlands, in August, 1555, he left England. Though he promised to return, he had no intention of doing so, and Mary soon had to recognize herself as neglected and alone.

3. RESTORATION TO ROME

Parliamentary Measures, 1554–1555.

Meantime Mary, strengthened by the sense of Spanish support, had taken the first steps towards reconciliation with Rome. The third Parliament of the reign met in November, 1554. Court influence had been exerted during the elections, and enough of the Members were known to be favourable towards Catholicism to make tentative measures seem safe. Cardinal Pole's attainder, enacted on account of his opposition to Henry VIII's divorce, was formally reversed, and Pole immediately returned to England. Parliament then entreated that the nation might be 'forgiven for breaking from Rome and might be restored to full communion with the Holy See. Pole, as Papal Legate, received this petition, pronounced his absolution and so recognized the nation as once more faithful sons of the Roman Catholic Church. Even these measures formed part of a compromise, for the only condition on which Parliament would agree to submission to Rome was that the former Church lands should remain in the possession of their existing owners—a compromise not very dignified for either party.

The Persecution.

Two further Statutes were passed almost immediately. First, the ecclesiastical Acts of Henry VIII's reign were repealed. Second, the Acts passed in the opening years of the fifteenth century for the persecution of the Lollards were re-enacted. Thus Mary was provided with a weapon

for forcing her subjects along the way she had determined they should tread.

Over the details of the persecution we will pass as lightly as possible. The first person to suffer was Canon Rogers of St. Paul's, who was burned at Smithfield on 4th February, 1555. Hooper suffered similarly at Gloucester, and during the early months of the year the burnings continued steadily. Then two new factors led to a speeding-up of the persecution. First, Mary had placed all her hopes upon the birth of a child who should secure a Roman Catholic succession to the throne; but by the middle of 1555 she began to be convinced that the anticipated event was not to take place. Second, in August Philip deserted her. These two bitter disappointments were interpreted by Mary as God's punishment for her lack of zeal in restoring her people to the true faith. She therefore redoubled her efforts, and during the latter part of 1555 there was a fierce outburst of persecution. Ridley and Latimer, after refusing to accept the doctrine of transubstantiation, were together burned at Oxford on 16th October. Latimer's call to his friend as the flames began to leap around them, though well-known, is worth quoting once more, for it was truly prophetic: "Play the man, Master Ridley; we shall this day light such a candle in England as by the grace of God shall never be put out." Cranmer was deprived of his Archbishopric in February, 1556, Cardinal Pole being appointed to succeed him. Against Cranmer the Queen was particularly bitter, for it was he who had declared her mother divorced and who as Archbishop had consented to the ecclesiastical legislation of Henry VIII. After recanting his Protestantism in a moment of weakness, Cranmer finally reaffirmed it and in March he too perished bravely at Oxford.

Characteristics of the Persecution.

Altogether nearly three hundred men and women died for their faith, most of them at the stake but some through

ill-treatment in prison. With the exception of a few outstanding leaders, such as those already mentioned, the victims were ordinary humble folk whose very names have in many instances perished with them.

The fixing of responsibility for these horrors is not easy. None of those in authority can escape some blame. Parliament, who re-enacted the persecuting statutes, must bear its share; so must all the political and religious advisers of the Queen. But three people especially supplied the driving force of the persecution, namely, Gardiner (who combined the offices of Lord Chancellor and Bishop of Winchester), Cardinal Pole and the Queen. Gardiner died in November, 1555, and the fact is significant that after that date the only notable victim was Cranmer, whose destruction had been determined long before. Yet equally remarkable on the other hand was the fact that no heretics suffered death in his diocese of Winchester. The responsibility rests primarily upon Pole and Mary. Philip and Renard, the Spanish ambassador, both saw that the persecution was producing a widespread reaction against Roman Catholicism and, realizing that this must mean antipathy towards Spain, they counselled moderation. But as Mary's despair of achieving her object grew, so her persecuting fever became more intense.

We must in fairness judge Mary by the standards not of our own day but of hers. In the sixteenth century the principle of toleration had not been accepted by any school of thinkers. Sir Thomas More had enunciated the theory in his "Utopia"; but Utopia was "Nowhere", and whether even More—gentle and cultured as he was—would have practised the theory in sixteenth-century England is highly doubtful. In the reigns of both Henry VIII and Elizabeth, Roman Catholics were subject to persecution at the hands of the sovereign. This, however, is no excuse for the fanatical fervour which characterized the persecution under Mary: even in the matter of numbers, many more people perished during the last four years of

Mary's reign than during either of the much longer reigns of Henry VIII or Elizabeth. The one defence that can be made for her is that she was unquestionably sincere and that she was convinced that she was acting not merely in the interests of her Church but for the welfare of the victims themselves and of the whole nation.

Results of the Persecution.

Yet in the nature of the case such methods were certain to fail in their object, for two reasons. First, the temperament of Englishmen, rendered independent partly by their national history and partly by their geographical isolation, was such that whereas they were amenable to reason and chivalry—as Mary's personal success at the time of Wyatt's revolt amply proves—they refused to be driven. Second, Mary forgot that there had ever been a Renaissance. Two centuries earlier, incipient Protestantism had been suppressed because the minds of the people were then accustomed to accept without question what authority bade them; men now demanded explanations that satisfied their reason. It was now Roman Catholicism which, as a system, was contrary to the spirit of the age and which was certain to be defeated.

Moreover, irrespective of the merits and demerits of the respective religious views, the mere fact of the persecution of humble folk, whose personal lives were unimpeachable, provoked a wave of sympathy on their behalf. Large numbers of moderate men, whose religious convictions were not very strong on either side, became more and more alienated from a Church that employed methods of cruel force.

Perhaps the most important immediate effect of the persecution was that it demonstrated once and for all that Protestants could be as staunch and sincere as Roman Catholics. With Northumberland in their mind, men had come to think that Protestants were time-servers who professed Reformed doctrines because it paid to do so;

but this opinion was no longer tenable when men were prepared to go to the stake rather than renounce their Protestant faith. The Marian persecution cleansed Protestantism of the stigma of insincerity and established it as a faith evoking general respect.

In short, the burnings sickened the nation and rendered the restoration of Roman Catholicism, as the one universal religion of England, for ever impossible.

4. THE CLOSE OF THE REIGN

Foreign Relations.

Meanwhile events abroad were combining together to produce the climax of Mary's misfortunes. In 1555 the election of Paul IV as Pope foreshadowed changes in the traditional balance of European politics, for he had always been the bitter enemy of the Hapsburgs, who ordinarily had been the natural supporters of the Papacy. Paul's grievance was that, as a Neopolitan, he resented the possession of Naples by the Spaniards and, as soon as he became Pope, he negotiated an alliance with Henry II of France for the expulsion of the Spaniards from Italy. In January, 1556, Charles abdicated the throne of Spain and was succeeded by his son Philip, the husband of Queen Mary. Philip immediately became anxious to secure English support against France, the degree of his anxiety being indicated by his taking the trouble to pay a brief visit to England and Mary with that object. The conflict that went on in Mary's mind is understood without great difficulty: the two most cherished objects of her life were her husband Philip and the Church, typified by the Pope; hence, no matter which of them she supported, she would do violence to the other.

The event which determined England's attitude was an invasion which landed on the Yorkshire coast. This attack, encouraged by Henry II, was led by Sir Thomas Stafford, who was a Protestant refugee from Mary's per-

secution. Stafford hoped that his landing would be the signal for an English rebellion against Mary. He managed to seize Scarborough Castle but, in the absence of active support, his expedition had then spent its strength and he, with most of his followers, was captured and executed. The wild scheme would not be worth recording but for the fact that its French support left England with scarcely any alternative to declaring war against France. Thus the stipulation in the Marriage Treaty that England should not be drawn into war against France in order to help Spain was shown to be valueless.

War against France, 1557-1558.

As between France and Spain, the war was altogether a success for the latter. The French troops had to retire from Italy and the Pope made peace with Philip. Also, a Spanish invasion of France from the Netherlands resulted in a great French defeat at the *Battle of St. Quentin* in August, 1557.

The French avenged themselves by attacking *Calais* which was the only possession which England retained of all her former territories in France. The defences of the city were altogether inadequate to stand a siege. Mary had emptied her exchequer by restoring Church lands and by endowing monasteries as an encouragement to those of her subjects who had such lands to imitate her example. In order to do this, Mary had economized in every branch of government. Consequently the fortifications of Calais had gone unrepaired and its garrison was hopelessly below its requisite strength.

When the siege was seen to be imminent, Wentworth, the English commander at Calais, sent urgent requests for reinforcements. But lack of organization and of seaworthy ships prevented any effective help from reaching the town in time, and in January, 1558, Calais fell to the French.

At this distance of time from the event, we can see that

the loss of Calais was really a gain. In the sixteenth century the town was of small commercial value and its continued possession by England would have been a constant source of friction with France. But its sentimental value was immense, and its capture was felt as a national disgrace. The loss of Calais intensified still further the people's hatred of the Spanish alliance which had caused the humiliation. Also, the nation was not slow to realize that the defenceless condition of the town was due indirectly to the Queen's expenditure on religious objects; and this became yet another reason for English antipathy towards Rome.

Death of Mary.

Upon Mary the disaster acted as the culmination of her griefs. Whether or not she ever said that "Calais" would be found written on her heart, the phrase aptly sums up her feelings. She was childless, worse than husbandless, disappointed of her religious hopes for her country, and now she was to be blamed for a national calamity which surely was a divine punishment upon her for having allowed herself to be drawn into an alliance against the Pope. To the physical infirmities that were creeping upon her was added a slowly breaking heart. She knew not only that she was dying but that her successor would be the Princess Elizabeth who would undo all the religious good that she thought she herself had done.

On 14th November, 1558, she breathed her last. By a strange, though fitting, coincidence, Cardinal Pole died only three days later. All England heaved a sigh of relief that the horror of the persecution and the entanglement with Spain were ended. With high hopes for brighter days the nation welcomed Elizabeth to the throne.

CHAPTER VII

ELIZABETH : RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT AND MARY STUART

Elizabeth's Character.

ELIZABETH was twenty-five years of age when she became Queen in 1558. As a princess her experience had been anything but uniformly pleasant. Her mother Anne Boleyn had been disgraced, executed and declared never to have been the wife of the King. Under Mary, Elizabeth's life had been in constant jeopardy, and the slightest indiscretion would have led her to the executioner's block. Fortunately, she was equipped by temperament and training to survive these trials. With her mother's vanity and coquetry she combined her father's keen intellect, strength of will, passionate temper, fearless courage, and delight in the open air. To these characteristics were added the thrift and the intrigue of her grandfather Henry VII. Her education was the best that the day could give, and she was accredited with being able to converse readily in Latin, French and Italian. In short, Elizabeth was one of the most remarkable of English monarchs and one of the most distinguished women of history.

I. THE RELIGIOUS POSITION IN 1558

Elizabeth's Problem.

It was well that England's new ruler was of such a calibre, for no sovereign ever had to make a more momentous decision than that which awaited Elizabeth. During a

whole generation the religious question, first raised under Henry VIII, had been awaiting an answer. This question involved much more than merely whether the majority of English people should be Roman Catholic or Protestant. Attached to it was a system of related issues.

In England the religious problem was almost as complicated as it could be. Ever since Christianity first came to these shores, that is, during something like a thousand years, the religion of England had been that of the Roman Catholic Church. Then, in the reign of Henry VIII, the Church as established by law, though retaining the ancient doctrine, threw off its allegiance to Rome, thus remaining Catholic without being Roman. Under Edward VI this process was carried to its logical conclusion, and England, shaking off even the Catholic doctrine, became thoroughly Protestant. Mary tried to effect a restoration of complete Roman Catholicism, but, though Parliament co-operated in this effort, she failed to carry the country with her. Elizabeth, therefore, had to try to solve the problem afresh. In reaching a solution she had three factors to consider : her own religious beliefs, the wish of the majority of her people, and the attitude of foreign Powers.

Elizabeth's personal religious convictions, like everything else connected with her, are not easy to define. While Mary was Queen, Elizabeth had taken the prudent course of conforming outwardly to Catholicism, but the circumstances of her youth made her voluntary continuance in that faith highly improbable. Her mother's marriage with Henry VIII had been lawful only after Cranmer had declared the divorce of Catherine of Aragon ; hence, if Elizabeth adhered to Roman Catholicism she would be recognizing that the divorce of Catherine was null and that consequently she herself was illegitimate and without any claim to the English throne. The events of the reign as a whole justify the guess that England's attitude towards the religious issue was determined by such political issues as this rather than by purely religious convictions.

Attitude of England.

The Queen's anti-Catholic disposition coincided with that of the great mass of her subjects. Henry VIII's breach with Rome had expressed the settled desire of the nation, and the events of the reigns both of Edward VI and of Mary had shown that only a minority of extremists wished the religious policy of Henry to be changed in either direction. Yet though there was a general endorsement of the principle of a course between extreme Roman Catholicism and extreme Protestantism, events since Henry's death had inclined the majority of the nation further from the former and nearer to the latter of those two alternatives. The Marian persecution had nauseated the mass of Englishmen, and the association in people's minds between Roman Catholicism and Philip of Spain, had begun to give to Protestantism the position of a national religion. Further, every year that passed increased the effects of the Renaissance upon men's thinking, while the spread of the habit of Bible-reading tended to undermine the dominance of the priesthood which was one of the bases of Roman Catholicism. These factors were certain to make Elizabeth's religious settlement more Protestant than her father's had been.

2. THE COUNTER-REFORMATION**Its Meaning.**

Whatever religious settlement Elizabeth might adopt would profoundly affect her relationship with the Powers of Europe, and this aspect of the matter, not less than the wishes of Elizabeth and of her subjects, had to be considered in determining the religious policy at the beginning of the new reign.

During recent years Roman Catholicism had greatly strengthened its position on the Continent. This was due mainly to a new attitude towards Protestantism and to

more effective organization in combating it. The first reaction of Roman Catholicism towards the demands of the Reformers had been a refusal to recognize any faults not only in the doctrines but also in the practices of the Church. Yet the influences of the Renaissance and the Reformation penetrated even Roman Catholicism, so that the next generation of Churchmen, recognizing some of the existing abuses in ecclesiastical practice, concluded that the surest way of defeating the Protestants was to remove the abuses against which they "protested". This movement to counteract the Reformation by amending the Church from inside is known as the "Counter-Reformation". Its influence was exerted through three channels: a series of reforming Popes, the Jesuits, and King Philip II of Spain.

Council of Trent.

At intervals between 1546 and 1563 there sat at the town of Trent, on the borders of Germany and Italy, a General Church Council which, after prolonged examination into the debates upon the beliefs of Christianity, finally inaugurated stern reforms in church practices and in clerical discipline though reasserting unchanged the orthodox doctrines of Roman Catholicism. The prime movers in this work were the Popes of the day, and when the Council was dissolved, its task complete, the Church with renewed zeal set out to propagate its faith and to defeat its enemies.

The Jesuits.

The chief agency in this effort was the *Society of Jesus*. The founder of this religious Order was a Spaniard, Ignatius Loyola, who, after being seriously wounded while serving as a soldier in Charles V's army, was so profoundly affected by the religious books which he read during his prolonged convalescence, that he devoted the rest of his life to the service of the Church. Around him there gathered a small

band of devoted men who vowed complete, unquestioning obedience to their chief. In 1540 the Pope recognized the "Society of Jesus" and from that time their numbers and influence steadily grew. The Jesuits, that is, the members of the Society, took a special vow of obedience to the Pope to whom they became as eyes, ears, feet and hands. That the foundation of the Society was nearly contemporary with the Council of Trent meant that the Papacy had an incomparably effective instrument for promoting the objects of the Counter-Reformation. Into every country the Jesuits went, teaching, discovering heresy, crushing out heretics by delivering them over to the Inquisition, and serving the Church in any way, great or small, as directed by their superior.

Philip II and the Netherlands.

In this work of upholding the supremacy of the Church and of eradicating heresy, the Papacy had no more faithful servant than Philip II of Spain, who regarded himself as divinely appointed for that purpose. Within Spain heresy ceased to exist. The chief thorn in Philip's side was the Netherlands, where Calvinism, the sternest of all forms of Protestantism, had been adopted by the majority of his subjects. Almost as soon as Philip became King of Spain in 1556 he set to work to stamp out the heresy. The Inquisition was introduced, Spanish troops in large numbers were quartered upon the inhabitants, and we can only marvel how any Protestant remained alive. The persecution called out the latent heroism of the sturdy Netherlands: they organized themselves under a native noble, William, Prince of Orange, and refused to submit, and the brutality of the Duke of Alva (1567-1573) and his Council of Blood only defeated its object. One of Alva's successors, the Duke of Parma, tried methods of diplomacy. The southern provinces of the Netherlands were in language and outlook akin to France, and Parma managed to detach these from their allegiance to William and to win their

support to Roman Catholicism on condition that their local customs were respected and that the Spanish soldiers were removed. The northern provinces remained unswervingly loyal to William of Orange and to Protestantism. The Spaniards placed a heavy price upon William's head, but no one interfered with him until in 1584 he was shot dead by a fanatic, and the Netherlands seemed to be prostrate and leaderless at the mercy of Philip.

These events could not be predicted in detail when Elizabeth became Queen in 1558, but even at that date the quickened energy of the Church, reinforced by the devotion of the new Spanish King, was sufficiently menacing to make Elizabeth hesitate before throwing the lot of England on to the side of Protestantism. To accept Roman Catholicism would secure the alliance of Spain, the most powerful state in Europe, and would thereby ensure peace abroad ; to favour Protestantism would invite a clash with the forces of the Counter-Reformation. Here is the key to the whole reign of Elizabeth : she made the choice that she knew her subjects wished her to make and thereby challenged Pope and Jesuits and Philip of Spain. The rest of her reign is the story of how she tried by wily diplomacy to postpone as long as possible the resulting crisis, and then of how, when further postponement was impossible, she and her people faced the enemy and defeated him.

With that crisis and the events immediately producing it we shall deal in our next chapter. Here we are concerned with the details of the religious settlement which Elizabeth effected in England.

3. RELIGIOUS SETTLEMENT

Elizabeth's Ministers.

In one respect at least Elizabeth was fortunate : the death of Cardinal Pole left the Archbishopric of Canterbury vacant so that the Queen was free to appoint as Primate a man whose views coincided with her own. The man

chosen was Matthew Parker, who was a moderate Protestant. Thus at the outset of her reign the Queen showed her hand: she intended to establish a Protestant Church that would be midway between Roman Catholicism on the one hand and Calvinism on the other. To that Church, however, the whole nation was to be compelled to conform.

Her ministers were men of similar views. The chief was *Sir William Cecil*, who had had some political experience in the reign of Edward VI and who, having been obliged to retire during Mary's reign, had become a supporter of Elizabeth. The latter formed so high an opinion of his judgment and probity that on her accession she made him her Secretary of State. Cecil's aim was to build up a strong monarchy which should use its powers in State and Church not for the personal aggrandizement of the sovereign but in the interests of the whole nation. With unswerving loyalty to Queen and country Cecil devoted his life to this object. He was created Lord Burghley in 1571, and died in 1598, being then seventy-eight years old.

In the latter part of the reign, *Sir Thomas Walsingham* also became prominent. During 1573-90 he was Secretary of State (Burghley having been transferred to the Lord Treasurership in 1572) and was largely occupied in the detection and tracking of plotters against the Queen's life.

Legislation.

Elizabeth's first Parliament met in January, 1559, and began at once to tackle the problem of the ecclesiastical settlement. It passed the second *Act of Supremacy* which declared the Queen to be the "Supreme Governor of the realm in all causes ecclesiastical as well as civil", and authorized the imposition of an Oath of Supremacy upon all those who held office in Church and State. These clauses are significant: they avoided Henry VIII's cruder claim to be the "Supreme Head of the Church"; they linked ecclesiastical and political affairs together as equally

the concern of the State, which, as events later in the reign will show, was a cardinal tenet of Elizabeth's policy; and they did not interfere with the mass of the people, office-holders alone being directly affected.

A third *Act of Uniformity* immediately followed. It ordered the use of a slightly modified version of the Second Prayer Book of Edward VI and of "such ornaments of the Church and of the ministers . . . as was in the Church of England . . . in the second year of King Edward VI". Further, any person absenting himself from church on any Sunday or Holy Day without reasonable excuse was to be fined one shilling for each such offence, the money being used for the poor of the parish. This, like the Act of Supremacy, was so framed as to cause offence to as few as possible: the new Prayer Book was carefully designed to be not too offensive towards Romanists, and, though fines were regularly and continually imposed, there was no attempt to treat offenders as heretics. To estimate exactly the value of a Tudor shilling in modern money is not easy. Probably it would be equivalent to fifteen shillings at the present day, so that the fine was not a light one, and gradually, as folk grew tired of paying, more and more of them avoided doing so by formal attendance at church.

In 1566 a Bill was introduced to compel all clergymen to agree to the *Thirty-Nine Articles*, which consisted of a modified form of Edward VI's Forty-Two Articles. Though the Bill was then rejected, Parliament gave its consent to a similar one in 1571.

These three measures illustrate Elizabeth's general policy respecting religion, namely, the establishment of a national church that should be moderately Protestant and so should embrace all but extremists. In a measure she was successful: the mass of the people did conform to the Church, partly through genuine conviction, partly through lack of religious convictions to the contrary, and partly because the menace from Spain associated the

enemies of the Church with the enemies of the nation. Moreover, the length of Elizabeth's reign gave time for the Anglican Church to become firmly established.

Nevertheless, Elizabeth's hope of comprehending the whole nation within the Church was never fulfilled. At the outset, thirteen of the fifteen Bishops and some two thousand lesser clergy refused to comply with the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, and they consequently lost their livings. This gave to the Queen's party the advantage of appointing to the vacancies men of required religious views, but it indicated also that uniformity was not to be obtained by royal dictum, and though at first the great majority of the nation acquiesced in the settlement, religious discontent increased with the passage of time, and both extreme Protestants and Roman Catholics became active and more numerous.

Puritans.

The insistence by the extreme Protestants of "purity" in belief and forms of worship gave rise to the name of Puritans. This general description covered a variety of sects holding widely different religious views. A large number of the Puritans remained members of the Church of England until the period of the later Stuarts. A few of the sectaries held wild and revolutionary opinions, and during the Civil War and the Commonwealth they formed a dangerous element in the State. But the majority of the Puritans fell into one or other of two main groups, namely, the Presbyterians and the Independents.

The *Presbyterians*, as we have seen,¹ derived their views on doctrine and ecclesiastical practice from Calvin. During the Marian persecution many Protestants had fled abroad and found refuge in Geneva where they imbibed Calvinistic beliefs. After Elizabeth's accession they began to return to England but were dissatisfied with the Protestant régime which they found had been established. Though

¹ Chapter IV, Section 2.

they wished for a national church, they disagreed with the rule of bishops and with the dependence of the Church upon the civil government. For this they would have substituted the government of the church by presbyters or elders and by ministers, all of whom were of equal rank. Their leader was Dr. Thomas Cartwright, a professor at Cambridge, whose writings contained an exposition of these ideas.

The *Independents* differed from the Presbyterians in that they rejected the principle of a national church. They claimed that each individual had the right to interpret the Scriptures for himself and that any group of believers should be allowed to establish a place for worship, the members of that congregation being solely responsible for its religious procedure and discipline. Their name of Independents (later Congregationalists) was derived from this insistence that each congregation should be independent of any national assembly or organization, though at first they were commonly called Brownists, after the name of their leader, Robert Browne. Their attitude, even more than that of the Presbyterians, was an uncompromising challenge to the Act of Uniformity. Nevertheless, they received tacit recognition if not actual encouragement from some of the highest State officers.

Even Archbishop Grindal, who in 1575 had succeeded Parker as Archbishop of Canterbury, showed much partiality towards the Puritans. During Grindal's lax Primacy the Act of Uniformity became a dead letter, and non-conformity with the established Church spread rapidly. Conventicles—that is, meeting-places for religious worship according to forms not authorized in the Prayer Book—began to be erected everywhere. Elizabeth sternly opposed the independent sects. This was due partly to her failure to appreciate the intensity of their religious convictions but partly to the fear of division within the State at a time critical in national history. She therefore ordered Grindal to have the conventicles suppressed, and when in

1577 he refused to obey he was suspended from his Archbishopric. He lived henceforward in disgrace and would probably have been definitely removed had not his death intervened in 1583.

Court of High Commission.

The new Archbishop was John Whitgift, and his accession to the Primacy produced an immediate change. Whitgift was a strong man whose ecclesiastical views coincided with those of the Queen. He rigidly enforced the Acts of Supremacy and Uniformity, and insisted that every minister of religion should accept the Thirty-Nine Articles. The Act of Supremacy had authorized the Queen to appoint a Commission to administer the Oath of Supremacy. Wide powers were left to the Queen in constituting the Commission, and in 1583 its membership was forty-four. This Court of High Commission took upon itself wide ecclesiastical functions similar in range and methods to the political ones of the Star Chamber. Many leaders in the State—notably Cecil—and even in the Church distrusted the inquisitorial methods of the Court. This was the body which Whitgift used for the repression of Puritanism, severe penalties being imposed upon those who refused to conform.

These methods of repression were no more successful in attaining their object than were those of Mary or Philip II. They merely challenged the Puritans to a more definite assertion and a more vigorous propagation of their principles. During the course of the reign, Parliament became more and more Puritan, and there were signs that the seeds of the religious strife between Parliaments and the Stuarts were already beginning to germinate.

The relations between the Government and the Puritans have, for the sake of clearness, been dealt with separately from those between the Government and the Roman Catholics. The activity of the latter was closely connected with the person of Mary, Queen of Scots, and we therefore deal with them as part of her story.

4. MARY STUART, QUEEN OF SCOTS

James IV and James V.

References to the history of Scotland have already occurred incidentally to the main thread of the history. We have seen how James IV of Scotland (1488–1513) welcomed Perkin Warbeck in the reign of Henry VII and how, later, the two kings became sufficiently friendly again for a marriage to take place between Henry VII's daughter Margaret and James IV.¹ Then in 1513, while Henry VIII was away fighting in France, his brother-in-law James, unable to resist the traditional policy of raiding England while the latter was at war abroad, crossed the border and was defeated and slain at Flodden.²

James V, the new king, was a child, and Margaret his mother acted as Regent. She did her best to safeguard English interests at Court, but an influential party of Scottish nobles favoured the usual French alliance, and ultimately James married Mary of Guise, a member of one of the most powerful French families. Henry VIII's repeated attempts to make friends with his nephew proved useless, and in 1542 war broke out again. The Scots, trying to catch the English unawares, planned an invasion. They were scarcely over the border when they were caught by the English at *Solway Moss* and hopelessly routed with heavy loss of men and guns. The news was such a shock to James V that within three weeks he died, leaving a week-old baby-girl as his successor. This was Mary, destined to become the famous "Queen of Scots".

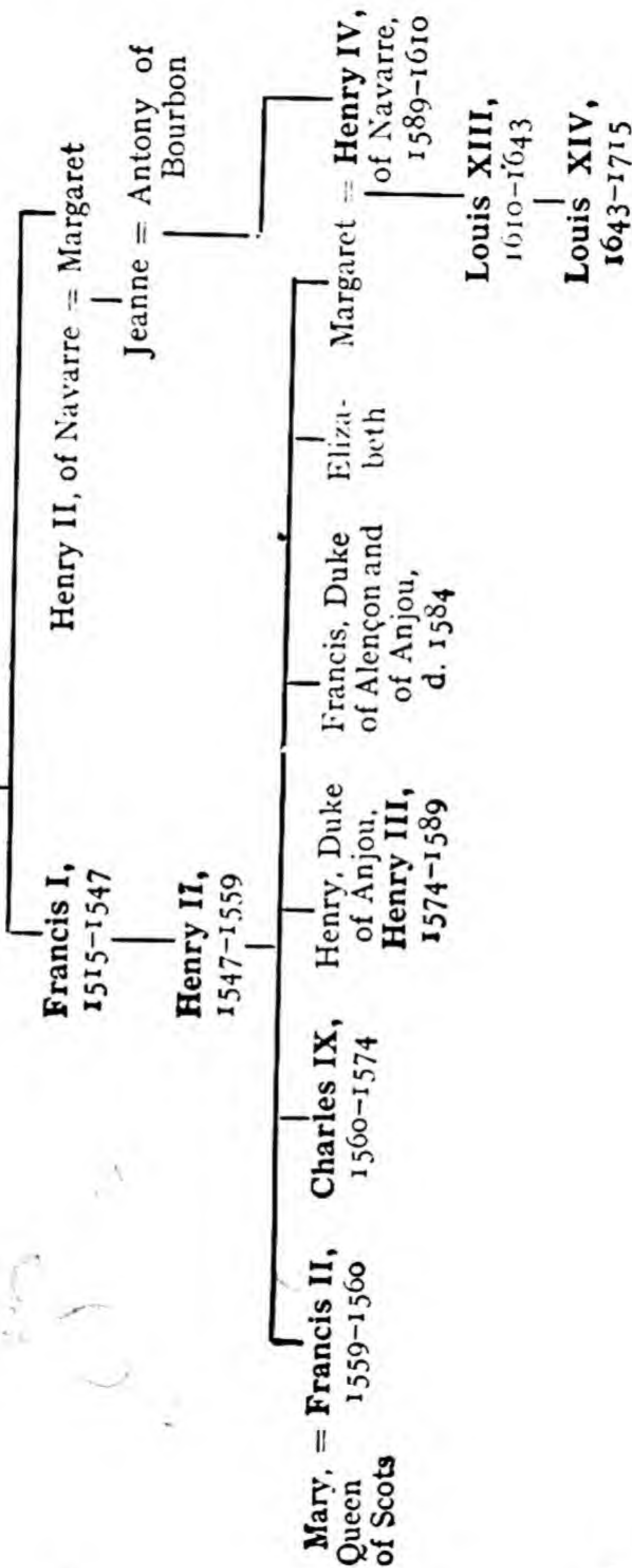
Mary in France, 1547–1561.

Mary of Guise became Regent and this meant the continuance of the Scottish alliance with France. Henry VIII did his best to counteract this influence, and even proposed a marriage between the infant Mary and his son Edward.

¹ Chapter II, Sections 1 and 4.

² Chapter III, Section 2.

KINGS OF FRANCE
Charles of Angoulême



The Scots disliked the idea, and when Somerset tried to press the matter and fought the Battle of Pinkie (1547),¹ they sent their Queen—then five years old—to France, where she was cared for by the Guises. In 1558 she married the Dauphin and in 1559, when her husband became Francis II in succession to his father Henry II, Mary, already Queen of Scotland, became also Queen of France. But in 1560 Francis II died, and at eighteen years of age Mary was a widow. More than this, the death of Francis II meant the fall of the Guises, and Mary found herself unwanted and slighted in France. This experience led her to listen favourably to the ambassadors who had been sent from Scotland to urge her to return home. In August, 1561, she reached Scotland to take up her position as Queen.

Reformation in Scotland.

But the interval between Mary's leaving home as a child and her return as a woman had seen a great transformation in Scotland: the nation had become almost solidly Protestant. Two influences had been at work to produce this result. First, the Church in Scotland had been thoroughly corrupt: a large proportion of the priests were men of loose morals and shamelessly neglected their duties. Thus the soil was well prepared for the Reformation doctrines which early spread into the country from Germany. One of the most prominent of the Scottish Reformers was *John Knox*, a stern, unflinching man to whom fear was unknown. Knox became Chaplain to Edward VI, after whose death he went to Geneva and became a warm admirer of the doctrines of Calvin, who was then in the heyday of his power in that city. The Marian persecution drove many English Reformers into Scotland where they spread their doctrines, so that when Knox returned to Scotland in 1555 he was able to work with much success.

The second influence tending towards Protestantism

¹ Chapter V, Section 2.

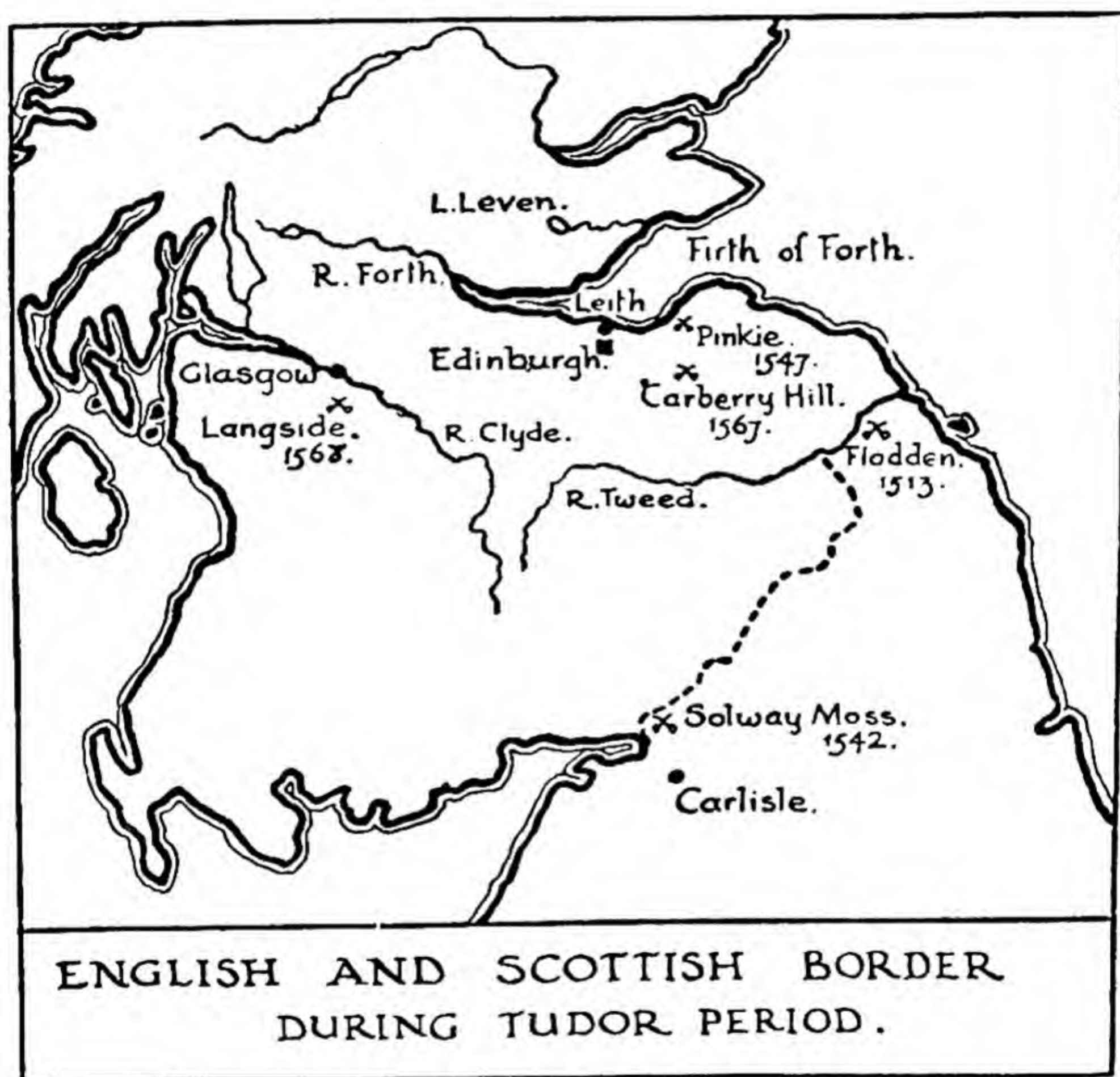
was that Mary of Guise tried to strengthen her Regency by introducing a French army. This was bitterly resented by the Scots, and, as the Regent's party was strongly Roman Catholic, Protestantism became generally thought of as the cause of patriotism. A group of powerful Scottish nobles banded themselves together under the leadership of James Stuart, Earl of Moray, Mary's illegitimate half-brother, to protect the Protestant cause and styled themselves "Lords of the Congregation". Knox, however, still feeling his position unsafe, again went to Geneva. This was the position when in 1558 Elizabeth became Queen of England.

Elizabeth and Scotland.

In 1559 Knox returned to Scotland. In May he preached at Perth against idolatry, with the result that the city mob attacked the neighbouring religious houses. From Perth the anti-Catholic, anti-French movement spread throughout Scotland. So serious was the rebellion that Mary of Guise had to send to France for further help. When this help came, the Protestants, left to their own resources, would certainly be overwhelmed, and the Lords of the Congregation therefore sent Knox to Elizabeth for help. Elizabeth was thus placed in a difficult situation: to help the Scottish Protestants was to encourage rebels, and this was not to her taste, no matter how exalted the rebels or their cause might be; on the other hand, Mary Stuart had claimed the English throne, and if she were established in Scotland by French help she would be in a fair position to make good the claim. Elizabeth therefore characteristically signed with the Lords the *Treaty of Berwick* (February, 1560), but before taking action she waited to see how events would turn out. The Lords were in possession of Edinburgh, but Leith, its port, was in the hands of the French who could not be moved. The Reformers' situation was desperate when at last, in December, 1559, an English fleet sailed northwards and

blockaded the French in the Firth of Forth. In April, 1560, an English army was sent to help the Scots against the French, but no decisive action had been taken when in June Mary of Guise died.

In July Cecil negotiated the *Treaty of Edinburgh* (some-



times called the Treaty of Leith) with Francis II, whose government was so distracted by Huguenot risings that it was glad to secure peace abroad: the French troops were to leave Scotland, and Mary was to give up her claim to the English throne. The French troops immediately withdrew, and so did the English. Knox and his followers were now free to organize the Presbyterian Church, which

became all but universally accepted throughout Scotland. Elizabeth, thus seizing the opportunity presented to her, had, within less than two years of her accession, secured what every English king since Edward I had desired, namely, peace with Scotland. Not only were both countries now Protestant, but the Protestantism of Scotland effectively broke the traditional alliance between that country and Roman Catholic France so that henceforward England, no matter how encumbered she might be with Continental politics, would never have to fear a Scottish attack in the rear.

At that juncture the death of Francis II in December, 1560, and the return of Mary Stuart to Scotland in August, 1561, broke the only remaining link between France and Scotland.

Mary's Policy.

The Scotland which Mary found was different both from the France where she had spent the last fourteen years and from the Scotland where she had spent the first five years. Whereas the Court of France was polished and luxurious, that of Scotland was crude and poverty-stricken; even the Scottish weather was raw and chilling. She found, too, that the opposition of John Knox was hard and unyielding; even the Queen's Mass at Holyrood Palace was interrupted by the Edinburgh mob. The Presbyterian preachers everywhere declaimed against the Popery of the Court, and a large proportion of the Scottish people were antagonistic towards her. Mary's position was indeed unenviable: still young and delightfully charming, she was alone and friendless. We need not greatly wonder, therefore, if she sometimes acted unwisely.

Yet no matter how sympathetically we judge her or how great an allowance we make for her youth and environment, it is hard to find any adequate defence for the foolish and evil courses which she began to follow almost as soon as she took over the government of Scotland. Her clear duty and her wise policy were so to rule as to win the

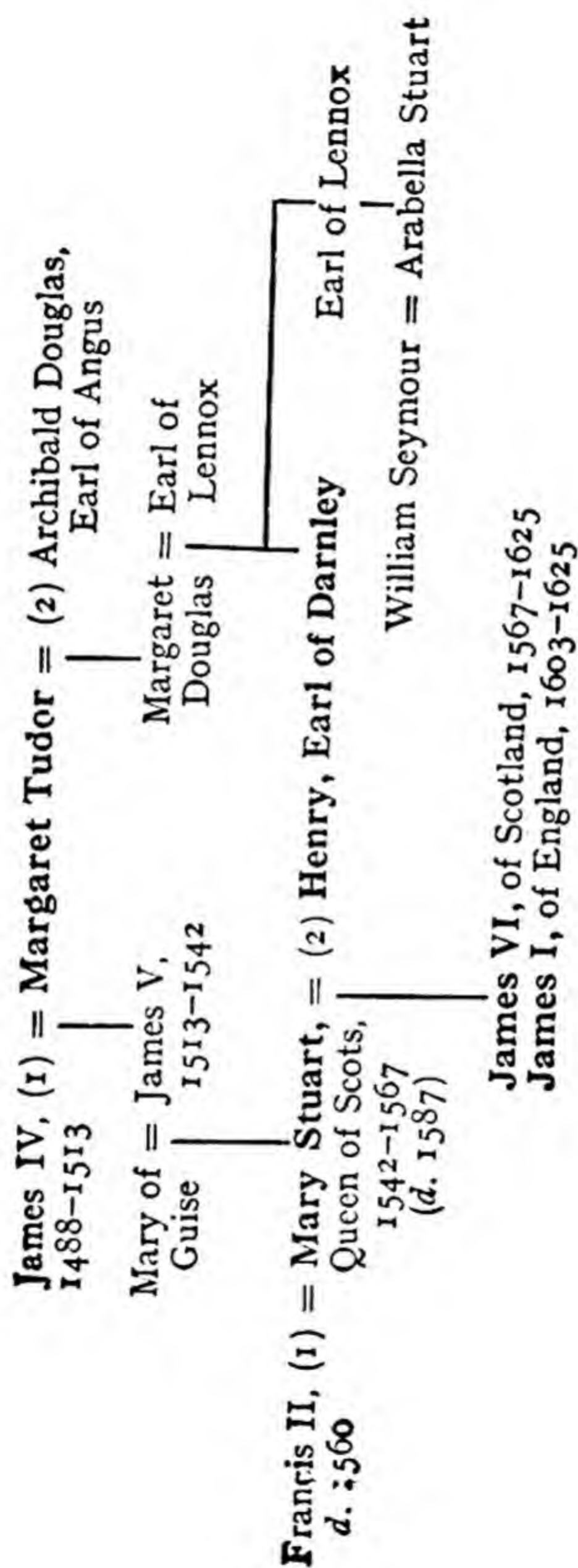
affectionate loyalty of her people ; that is, she should have aimed at becoming a national monarch—as Elizabeth in England—living and working for the welfare of Scotland. Instead, she offended her people by contracting two unsuitable marriages—the first foolish and the second vicious—and instead of caring solely for Scotland she intrigued for the Crown of England. Thus the reign ended in tragedy both for Mary and for Scotland.

Darnley.

The first step in Mary's downward course was her marriage with her cousin Darnley. The gay, dashing appearance of this young man not unnaturally enticed the lonely girl-queen. Apart from this personal aspect of the alliance, the marriage had a political significance which made it doubly attractive. A study of the Table of the descendants of Henry VII¹ shows that if Elizabeth had no children the next claimant to the English throne would be Mary Stuart, who was the descendant of Henry VII's daughter, Margaret Tudor, and James IV of Scotland. But Darnley was also a descendant of the same Margaret Tudor who, after James IV's death at Flodden, had married the Earl of Angus, a member of the Douglas family. Hence, if Mary Stuart died before Elizabeth, Mary's claim to the English throne would devolve upon Darnley. The united claims of Mary and Darnley as successors to Elizabeth were therefore incontestable.

Their relationship to Elizabeth was even more intimate than this. The Roman Catholic section of Elizabeth's subjects held that Anne Boleyn had never been the lawful wife of Henry VIII and hence that Elizabeth was not legitimately Queen. If that were so, then Mary Stuart would not be merely the rightful successor to Elizabeth : her claim to the English throne, even while Elizabeth was alive, was clearly superior to that of Elizabeth herself. This was the view held by Roman Catholics in England,

¹ Chapter III, Introduction.



so that when they supported Mary, whether by plotting or otherwise, they regarded themselves not as traitors to their Queen but as seeking to remove a usurper and to enthrone the rightful monarch. The very existence of Mary therefore constituted a standing menace to the security of Elizabeth of England. By the Treaty of Edinburgh of 1560, Francis II had agreed to the renunciation of his wife's claims to England, but Mary herself had never concurred in that Treaty, and there seems little doubt that one of her objects in marrying Darnley was the political one that he, impelled by his own Tudor descent, would assist in making good her rights. Mary camouflaged her desires under the guise of wishing only for recognition as Elizabeth's successor, but neither the Roman Catholics on the one hand nor Elizabeth and her ministers on the other failed to place the right interpretation upon this pretension.

The hopes that Mary had placed upon Darnley were soon proved to be delusive. His attractiveness was superficial only : he showed himself faithless, unstable, callous, vain and useless in affairs concerning the government. Mary was therefore unable to give to him the place she had intended, and Darnley in revenge leagued himself with her enemies the Lords of the Congregation. In particular he was incensed against Rizzio, an Italian whom Mary had made her secretary and whom she had to entrust with matters of State, since her husband was unworthy. Darnley, consumed with jealousy, determined to be rid of Rizzio, and one evening at Holyrood Palace the band of conspirators dragged out the Secretary from under the Queen's own eyes and murdered him. This caused the final breach between Mary and Darnley ; but Mary, intent upon revenge, disguised her real feelings and patched up an apparent reconciliation with Darnley.

Bothwell.

The truth was that her aversion to her husband had led her under the spell of one of her very few Scottish

supporters, namely, James Hepburn, Earl of Bothwell. This man was little better than a border-ruffian. Yet the obvious features of his character were exactly those most likely to appeal to Mary as being in sharp contrast to those of Darnley: he was daring and high-handed and he stood up for the Queen just when she needed him most.

In 1567 Darnley was ill of a foul disease and, craven that he was, in his distress he begged Mary to return to him. She took him to a house near Edinburgh, named Kirk-o'-Field, and there nursed him. One night Bothwell rode over to take her to a ball in Edinburgh, where he left her. Next morning Kirk-o'-Field was found to have been blown up by gunpowder and Darnley's dead body was lying in the garden. In spite of repeated research the facts of the affair have never been ascertained beyond doubt. Bothwell's complicity is certain. What has never been cleared up is Mary's part in the proceedings. That she was a party to the plot cannot be definitely established, nor even that she was aware of it. Many incidental circumstances—for example, her familiarity with Bothwell and the question of whether the necessary powder could have been stored in the house without Mary's knowledge—caused serious suspicion to rest upon her. If proof of Mary's guilt were needed, she seemed bent upon supplying it: three months after Darnley's murder Mary married Bothwell. This settled whatever uncertainty may have remained in the mind of anyone; for even if Mary were innocent of a part in the murder, her voluntary association with the murderer made her morally a sharer in his guilt, and Scotland rose against its unworthy Queen.

Mary's Fall.

Each side raised forces and a battle took place at *Carberry Hill* near Edinburgh in June, 1567. The Queen's cause was hopelessly outmatched: Bothwell fled—and disappeared for ever—and Mary was captured and im-

prisoned in Loch Leven Castle. In July she was compelled to abdicate the throne in favour of her infant son James, who had been born in June, 1566, and Moray acted as Regent. Then in May, 1568, Mary escaped from Loch Leven and gathered a few followers. But at the resulting battle at *Langside*, south of Glasgow, she was once more routed and compelled to flee. She crossed the border, entered England and became the prisoner of Elizabeth, to whom she appealed for mercy.

From that day, 16th May, 1568, Mary Stuart's presence was a source of continual embarrassment to Elizabeth and affords a key to much, perhaps to most, of the politics of the next twenty years. What was Elizabeth to do with her? To send her back was to send her to certain death at the hands of rebels, which did not seem a wise policy for one queen to adopt towards another. To allow Mary to pass to France was to encourage her to conspire with the enemies of England, not only in France but in Spain. Yet to retain Mary in England was to encourage Roman Catholics to plot against the life of Elizabeth. Elizabeth first declared that what course Mary was allowed to follow would depend upon the establishment of her innocence or guilt concerning the murder of Darnley. In 1569 an inquiry into her conduct was held at York. The Duke of Norfolk, who was the premier English noble and, incidentally, the leader of the Roman Catholics, presided over the Commission which consisted of representatives of Elizabeth and of the Scottish Lords of the Congregation. The latter sent the famous Casket Letters which were supposed to be letters from Mary to Bothwell and to have been found at Holyrood Palace after the Battle of Carberry Hill. These letters would have established Mary's guilt beyond all dispute; but no one could prove conclusively whether they were genuine or forgeries. No definite step was therefore possible on the basis of them and Elizabeth ultimately adopted her usual policy of drift and did nothing in particular: Mary was allowed to remain

in England where at first she was free but later, when plots in Mary's favour became common, she was kept as a prisoner.

5. PLOTS AGAINST ELIZABETH

Rising of the Northern Earls.

One of the reasons for the break-up of the Commission of Inquiry of 1569 was that Cecil learned of a scheme whereby Norfolk, the President of the Commission, was to marry Mary. This did not necessarily imply that Norfolk intended to supplant Elizabeth but the move was nevertheless suspicious. He was summoned to Court but, after undertaking to abandon the marriage-project, he was released. Previous to this, Norfolk had been an accomplice with Percy and Neville, Earls of Northumberland and Westmorland, for a rebellion which was to secure the recognition of Mary Stuart as heiress-presumptive to the English throne or possibly her immediate enthronement in place of Elizabeth. Norfolk's arrest made the Earls fear that they would next be seized and they therefore rose immediately. They gathered their followers at Durham, where High Mass was celebrated in the Cathedral, and then moved south to rescue Mary from her half-imprisonment at Tutbury. Her sudden transfer to Coventry upset their plans, and the rebels moved northwards. This meant the collapse of the revolt: Northumberland fled into Scotland, and Westmorland to Spain. The Government's troops marched to the north, scattered what remained of the rebellion, and hanged as many of the rebels as they could catch. It was entirely in keeping with Elizabeth's consistent policy that the commander of her troops was the Earl of Sussex who was a leading Roman Catholic; she was thus able to claim that the insurgents were being punished not on account of their religion but as political traitors. This was the first and last rebellion of the reign of Elizabeth.

Elizabeth Excommunicated, 1570.

In the following year, impetus was given to the Roman Catholic opposition to Elizabeth by Pope Pius V's issue of a Bull of Excommunication against her. This declared Elizabeth to be deposed as a heretic and thereby released her subjects from their allegiance to her. Elizabeth's Third Parliament, which met in April, 1571, contained a majority of strongly Protestant Members (this was the Parliament, for example, which sanctioned the Thirty-Nine Articles) and their reply to the Papal Bull was sharp and definite. They passed an Act declaring that anyone who questioned the Queen's right to the throne or called her a heretic or imported Papal Bulls was guilty of high treason. This was, in effect, a re-assertion of the principle which Elizabeth consistently adopted towards non-conformists of all kinds,¹ namely, that they were dangerous not as religious heretics but as political traitors. Good Catholics were henceforward placed in the dilemma of having to choose between loyalty to the Queen and loyalty to the Pope. The majority of them chose the former, but a small section of extremists renewed their activity to remove Elizabeth, the result being a series of plots against the Queen's life.

The Roman Catholics in England were not likely to be very successful without active support from the Roman Catholic Powers of Europe, especially France and Spain, and these countries were too handicapped to be of much use. Philip II of Spain was occupied with the Netherlands, and Charles IX of France with the revolting Huguenots, as the French Protestants were called; and neither wished to break with Elizabeth lest she should ally with his rival. France tried to secure herself by contracting a definite alliance with England.

Previous to this, Elizabeth's relationship to France had been somewhat equivocal. Protestantism never won

¹ Section 3 above.

adherents in France as it did in Germany and England, and the Huguenots did not number more than a small fraction of the nation. But, because among them were men of the highest social and commercial standing, they were strong out of all proportion to their numbers. Consequently they managed to obtain a measure of toleration. This upset the extreme section of the Roman Catholics, and in 1560 a religious Civil War broke out. The Huguenots appealed to Elizabeth for help and, rightly gauging her mercenary mind, undertook to hand over to her the town of Havre as security that the English expenses in the war would be discharged and that Calais would be restored. Elizabeth sent troops to France and seized Havre; but the death of the Roman Catholic leader led to a momentary cessation of hostilities, and in March, 1563, both sides agreed to expel the foreigners. Consequently the English troops had to defend Havre against both Roman Catholics and Protestants, and later in the year were compelled to retire. We need scarcely be surprised if, after this experience, Elizabeth did not feel very cordially towards the Huguenots. Hence, so far as the religious aspect of the matter was concerned, she would not be averse to an alliance with France. Such an alliance, possibly cemented by a marriage-treaty between Elizabeth and Anjou, promised to be a check also upon the power of Spain and was, in effect, a return to Wolsey's policy of the "Balance of Power".

Ridolfi's Plot, 1571.

The first of the plots against the Queen came to a head in 1571. Ridolfi, a Florentine banker living in London, was a Papal agent who negotiated with the Roman Catholic leaders in England. The plan was to murder Elizabeth, marry Mary Stuart to the Duke of Norfolk, and bring over several thousands of Alva's troops to secure Mary on the English throne. The newly arranged friendship between France and England alarmed the Spaniards, who were

sufficiently favourable towards the plot for Ridolfi to send from Spain an encouraging report by a messenger to Norfolk and to Mary's agent. The messenger was captured by Burghley's spies, put to the rack and induced to reveal many secrets. Other spies picked up other threads. Finally, in September, Norfolk was arrested, and a mass of information was pieced together which sufficed to get Norfolk convicted of high treason. In January, 1572, Norfolk was executed.

Massacre of St. Bartholomew, 1572.

A little later in the same year Walsingham was sent to France to continue the negotiations for a definite alliance between that country and England. The bond of union was to be a marriage between Elizabeth and a Frenchman: Anjou's younger brother, the Duke of Alençon, being now the suitor. The negotiations were incomplete when, in August, 1572, there took place the horrible Massacre of St. Bartholomew. Thousands of Huguenots were assembled in Paris to celebrate the wedding of their leader, Henry of Navarre, to the sister of Charles IX. This opportunity was seized upon by the Court party to murder the Huguenots in cold blood. This deed naturally cooled Elizabeth's relationship with the French; but Elizabeth's religion was not of the kind to allow even the murder of Huguenots to hinder her friendship with their murderers if such friendship seemed politically advisable. Negotiations for a marriage with Alençon were accordingly renewed, and for ten years she lured her suitor with half-promises and hopes. Secretly she had not the slightest intention of marrying him or anyone else; her political value depended upon her remaining unmarried, for had she definitely committed herself, her power as a potential prize would have been at an end. To dally with Alençon was to ensure that France would never break from England and that Philip of Spain would be too uncertain of the issue to commit himself definitely either. We may well

believe, too, that Elizabeth thoroughly enjoyed the intrigue for its own sake.

Throgmorton's Plot, 1583.

The next attack on the Queen was the direct outcome of the Counter-Reformation. Gregory XIII, who became Pope in 1572, made the restoration of England to the Roman Catholic Church one of the prime objects of his life. English Jesuits were trained in colleges at Douai and Rome for the express purpose of converting their country. In 1580 a Jesuit campaign, directed by two priests, Campion and Parsons, was launched against England. The danger that Roman Catholics, spurred by this new offensive, would choose to be loyal to the Pope rather than to the Queen, led to new severities against heretics. The existing laws imposing fines for non-attendance at church were rigorously enforced and new, and still more stringent, Acts were passed by the Parliament of 1581: to receive a person into the Church of Rome and to claim the power to absolve subjects from their allegiance to the Queen were declared to be treasonable offences. Once more, the offence to be punished was not heresy as such but treason. Between that date and the end of the reign, two hundred Roman Catholics suffered death. Before 1581 was out, Campion had been captured, tortured and executed, though without very clear evidence against him. His colleague Parsons escaped to the Continent and carried on his machinations against Elizabeth. At this point the general Roman Catholic campaign seemed to have some chance of success. In 1574 Elizabeth's former suitor, the Duke of Anjou, had become King Henry III—his brother Alençon succeeding to the title of Anjou—and had pursued the Huguenots so relentlessly that Roman Catholicism seemed definitely victorious. At the same time the Duke of Parma¹ seemed to be equally successful in the Netherlands.

The next attempt against Elizabeth was part of this

¹ Section 2 above.

Roman Catholic offensive. The plot was engineered by the Jesuits, but Thomas Throgmorton was its English leader. A combined Spanish and French army was to invade England, and Elizabeth was to be assassinated. Walsingham's spies picked up some threads of the conspiracy, and in November, 1583, Throgmorton was arrested. Papers in his possession showed definitely that Mendoza, the Spanish ambassador, was a party to the plot, and evidence falling only just short of certainty implicated Mary Stuart also. Mendoza was dismissed from the country, Throgmorton was executed, and strong—though vain—efforts were made to induce Elizabeth to have Mary executed also.

“The Association”, 1584.

The determined nature of the Roman Catholic offensive was convincing Protestants of the sort of results that would follow the restoration of Roman Catholicism in England: Alva's methods in the Netherlands would be introduced and backed by the combined might of Spain and France. The only obstacle was the person of Elizabeth: if she were murdered and Mary Stuart succeeded her, nothing could avert the subordination of England to Spain. Thus the safety of the Queen and the independence of England were inseparable, and, not only among the ministers but also among the nation at large, there was a growing determination to frustrate the attacks on the Queen's life. This desire was strengthened when, in 1584, William of Orange was murdered,¹ for what had been done in Holland might be done here.

Accordingly, in 1584 a declaration was drawn up by a number of leading nobles to the effect that the signatories would pursue to death any person plotting against the life of the Queen and also any person in whose favour the plot was made. Such an instrument seemed certain to discourage conspiracies; for there would be no useful purpose

¹ Section 2 above.

in murdering Elizabeth in order to enthrone Mary, if Mary was then to be put to death. The declaration received an enormous number of signatures, of both Protestants and Roman Catholics, so that the "Association" included nearly the whole of the responsible part of the nation. In order to give yet greater weight to the document, Parliament incorporated its clauses in the form of a Bill which received the sanction of the Queen.

Leicester's Expedition, 1585-1586.

This was not the only effect on English policy of the murder of William of Orange. The leaderless condition of the United Provinces awakened the fear that their complete subjection to Spain would allow the latter to concentrate its undivided attention upon England. The Provinces, hoping to take advantage of the mutual dependence of themselves and England, offered to become the subjects of Elizabeth. Acceptance would have been too bold a step and too open a defiance of Spain for Elizabeth's liking; but in 1585 she finally agreed to become their "Protector" on condition that she should be given possession of certain coastal towns as a guarantee that any expenses incurred in defending the United Provinces would be repaid.

Late in 1585, seven thousand men were sent under the Earl of Leicester, Elizabeth's favourite courtier. The immediate object of the expedition was the relief of Antwerp, but the city fell before help arrived. Contrary to the Queen's wishes, Leicester assumed the government of the United Provinces in her name. He was, however, quite incapable as a general. He tried to recover the town of Zutphen but, after desperate fighting, the English were repulsed and the only noteworthy result was the mortal wound received by Sir Philip Sidney in the battle. Early in 1586 Leicester brought back his forces.

The expedition had had two effects. First, in spite of its military futility the practical demonstration of the

“ Protectorship ” of Elizabeth had given the Dutch new hope and had rallied them to fresh resistance to Spain. Second, the expedition was tantamount to an act of war against Philip II and as such was an additional incentive to his attack against England. The final incentive followed before the year was out.

Babington's Plot, 1586.

Early in 1586 Walsingham's spies found traces of yet another conspiracy which was being organized by the Jesuits and of which the English agent was a Derbyshire Roman Catholic named Anthony Babington, the plan being similar to the earlier ones, namely, to murder Elizabeth and make Mary Queen. Walsingham purposely left the way clear for Mary to correspond with the plotters, her letters being intercepted, copied, re-sealed and forwarded to their destination so that no suspicion was aroused. In this way complete details of the plot and plotters were learned. Suddenly in August Walsingham struck. Babington was arrested and Mary removed to Fotheringay Castle in Northants. Further search revealed still more correspondence and Mary was brought to trial, and at length every one of her judges declared her guilty of complicity in the plot to murder Elizabeth.

The publication of Mary's guilt was followed by almost universal demands throughout the nation for the carrying out of the terms of the “ Association ”, and Parliament, when it met in 1586, urged the same course. Considerable delay occurred owing to the Queen's reluctance to sign the death-warrant, but in February, 1587, Mary was executed in the Hall of Fotheringay Castle. At her execution Mary bequeathed to Philip II her claims on the English Crown and so provided the immediate occasion for the supreme crisis of the reign of Elizabeth.

CHAPTER VIII

ELIZABETH: THE ARMADA

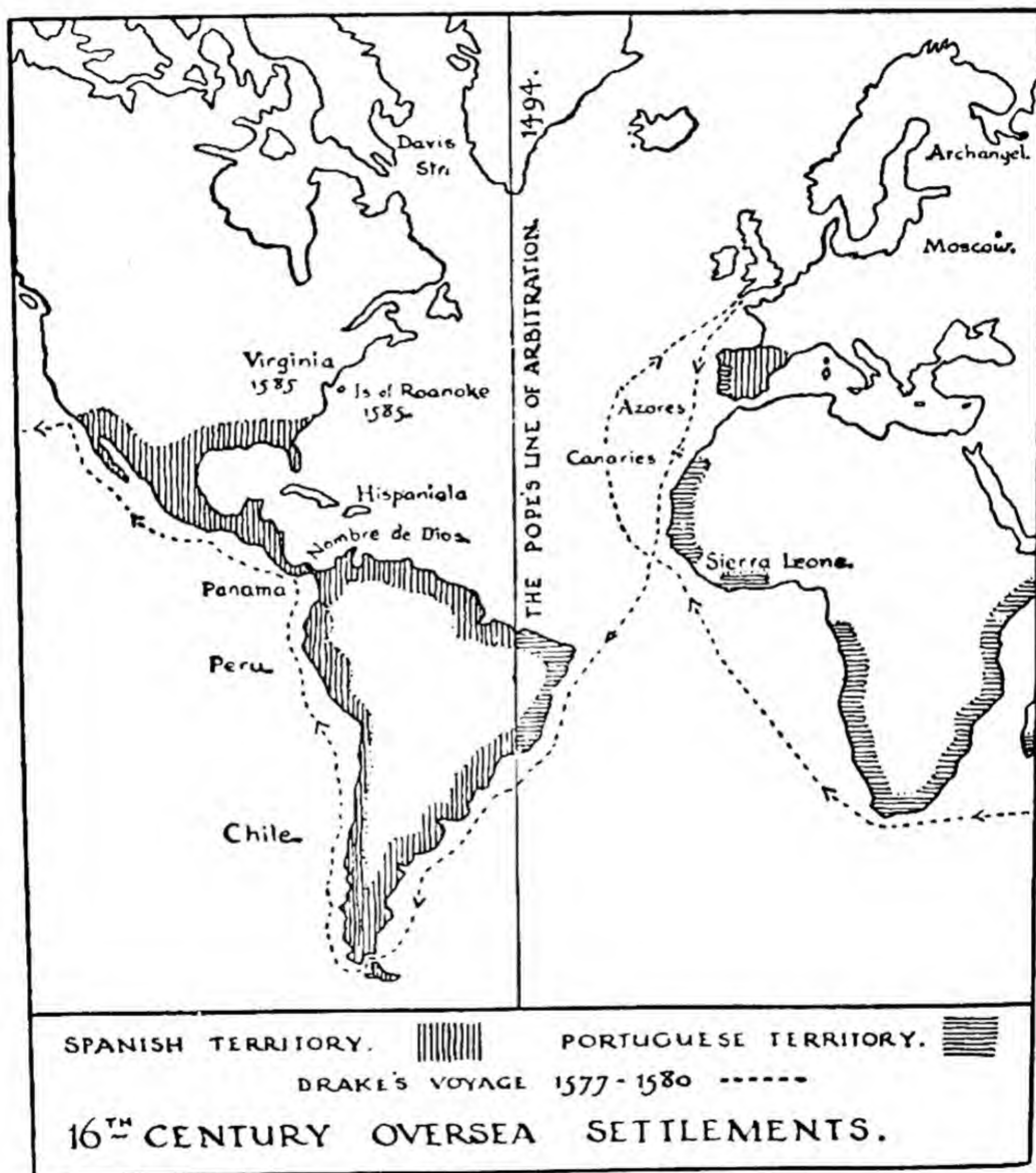
"THE Invincible Armada" was not only the climax of the reign of Elizabeth: it was the turning-point of modern English history. The preceding chapter has referred incidentally to some of the causes of enmity between England and Spain, and we have now to examine more comprehensively the influences which brought that enmity to a head in 1588. Those influences fall mainly under two subjects, namely, the development of English naval power—which both enraged Philip II and enabled England successfully to defy his attack—and the contemporary political and religious conditions in Europe.

I. THE SEAMEN

England in the Modern World.

The geographical position of England seems to show that Nature destined her people to be seafarers. Yet in actual fact the sea was not a part of her conscious national life until the middle of the sixteenth century. The reason is not difficult to find. Mediaeval England was almost solely agricultural and produced very little that was of any value for export, wool being the only exception. Hence the only interest that English seamen would have was as carriers of other people's goods. For such work, however, England was as badly placed as she could be: the centre of the mediaeval world was then the Mediterranean—the "middle of the earth"—and of that world

England was on the extreme edge. Most of her people, unaffected by Continental life, clung to their insularity and distrusted anything that seemed to infringe it.



The discovery of the Americas at the end of the fifteenth century transformed the situation: instead of being on the edge, England was in the centre of the world. Trade was no longer chiefly a sea-trade but was increasingly an ocean-trade. Guided by the compass, lured by the pos-

sibility of gaining fabulous wealth, Englishmen began to feel the throb which had impelled their northern ancestors to become sea-rovers.

Portuguese and Spaniards.

But Englishmen were not the first in the race for oversea possessions and trade. The Spanish and Portuguese were well ahead. Their position had made these people take to the sea in the days before the discoveries. Also, much of the maritime pioneering was the work of Spanish and Portuguese sailors, as the names of Bartholomew Diaz, Vasco da Gama and Magellan all bear witness, while Columbus and Amerigo Vespucci were both Italians in the pay of Spain. The resulting position was accurately—if impudently—reflected by the action of Pope Alexander VI when in 1493 he marked a north-and-south line, drawn a hundred leagues west of the Azores, and allotted to Spain all unoccupied territory west of that line and to Portugal all unoccupied territory to the east of it. The actual position of the boundary was, by arrangement between the two Powers, moved farther west in 1494, the net result being that the African coasts and Brazil fell to the share of Portugal, and the remainder of America to Spain. Thus the trade with the east in spices, precious stones and silks was in the hands of the former, and the silver and gold from South America in the hands of the latter. Both countries not unnaturally tried to retain the monopoly of these sources of wealth.

Early English Exploration.

English merchants and sailors, intent upon a share of the riches of the east, determined to find their own approaches. Since both the south-east and the south-west routes were already blocked, the only alternatives were the north-east and the north-west. Accordingly, the early efforts of English explorers were directed towards finding northern passages to the east. In 1553 Sir Hugh Wil-

loughby and Richard Chancellor tried to reach the east by penetrating through the north of Europe and Asia. They reached Archangel and, though Willoughby died in Lapland, Chancellor pushed on to Moscow. The expedition failed of its main objective, but one tangible result of it was the Moscovy Company formed by English merchants expressly to trade with Russia. The efforts to find a north-west passage were less fruitful even than this. In each of the years 1576, '77 and '78 Martin Frobisher led an expedition to the north of North America, as did John Davis in the years 1585, '86 and '87, but, though displaying great courage and skill, they were both baffled in their search—inevitably so, as modern knowledge shows. Nevertheless the efforts of these men show that England was beginning to take to the sea, and long before the northern voyages had proved to be impracticable, another group of sailors had found a simpler and more effective way of tapping the wealth of east and west: they boldly plundered the preserves and the ships of their rivals, particularly of the Spaniards since the most lucrative trade was that with Spanish territory in South America.

Sir John Hawkins, 1520–1595.

The earliest of these adventurers was John Hawkins, who became notable—or notorious—as a pioneer of the slave trade between Africa and America. One of the first steps taken by the Spaniards in their overseas possessions was to enslave the natives whom they found and whom they treated with every kind of cruelty. The result was that the native races quickly declined in numbers and finally died out. Fresh supplies of labour therefore became a necessity to the planters. Hawkins saw a way of exploiting this need to his own advantage. As a sea-trader with the Canaries he had some knowledge of the ground. In 1562 he set sail with three tiny vessels, landed at Sierra Leone, where he secured three hundred negroes—partly by capture and partly by bartering with native chiefs for their prisoners—

of-war—and then made for Hispaniola, where he disposed of his human cargo at high rates of profit. In 1564 Hawkins ventured upon a second trading voyage on a much larger scale than the first and succeeded in disposing of the slaves not only in the West Indian Islands but also on the mainland.

These expeditions, being deliberate breaches of the Spanish monopoly, were essentially piratical. The authorities frowned upon them, and Hawkins' success was due to the needs of the settlers who cared no more for government regulations than he did. His third voyage in 1567 met with disaster, for the Spanish Government was determined to end the illicit trade. Hawkins managed, by the use of force, to dispose of his slaves, but after putting into harbour to refit for the homeward voyage, he found himself blockaded by a Spanish fleet. A fierce fight followed, and of the five English ships only two escaped, one of them being commanded by Hawkins and the other by his young cousin, Francis Drake, who was then on his maiden voyage across the Atlantic.

The abhorrence with which we in these days regard the slave-trade was not shared by the men of the sixteenth century: they regarded negroes as mere chattels to whom no more consideration was due than to other classes of merchandise. Hawkins' voyages were, indeed, the first attempts at oceanic trade by English seamen.

Sir Francis Drake, 1540–1596.

Other sailors, carrying still further their challenge to the Spanish monopoly of South America, boldly raided the stores of precious metals both on board ship and on shore. The leader in this later form of piracy was Francis Drake, who thus improved upon the lessons he had learned from his cousin. His career, when we remember the severe limitations under which he worked—tiny vessels, difficulty of food supplies, lack of other men's experience by which to profit—was an amazing example of intrepidity and

skilled seamanship unsurpassed in history. He was the son of a Devon clergyman who, during the reign of Edward VI, was compelled to leave the west because he favoured the new Protestantism. Francis made his first acquaintance with large ships through his father's appointment, during the reign of Elizabeth, as chaplain to the fleet at Chatham.

Drake's initial incentive in sailing the Spanish Main on his own account seems to have been to avenge the friends and money lost during Hawkins' 1567 expedition. In 1570 and again in 1571 he sailed to the West Indies and, though nothing very noteworthy was achieved, the experience gained was to prove invaluable in days to come. His voyage of 1572 was in some ways the most astounding of even his career. Sailing from Plymouth in May with a couple of small vessels, he made for the Isthmus of Panama. The practice of the Spaniards was to ship the gold from Peru to Panama, there to unload it on to mule-trains which carried it over the Isthmus to Nombre de Dios, where it was again put on board, this time for transport across the Atlantic to Spain. Drake's aim was no less than to seize the mule-train on its way over the Isthmus. He landed at Nombre de Dios Bay and, after many adventures and hairbreadth escapes, he actually plundered a train of silver and then sailed for Plymouth, which he reached in August, 1573. He had surprised the Spaniards in the heart of their treasure-house, had spoiled scores of their trading-ships and—more important still for the future—had seen from afar the Pacific Ocean upon which he determined one day to sail.

For several years Drake was busy in home waters. Then in 1577, England appearing on the verge of war against Spain, Elizabeth secretly connived at Drake's attempt to realize his dream of raiding the Pacific coast of South America. In December, 1577, he once more sailed out of Plymouth bound for the west. Drake's own ship was the *Pelican* of one hundred tons, with which

were four other still smaller craft. Two of them he destroyed later ; the other three succeeded in passing through the Straits of Magellan, but one of these foundered and another turned back. Drake re-named his ship the *Golden Hind* and alone pursued his course. Sailing northwards he overtook and seized a treasure-ship with a cargo of silver of untold worth. The Spaniards were too aghast at Drake's unexpected and sudden appearance to offer effective resistance, and he was able to escape unscathed. But his enemies would certainly be awaiting his return southwards through the Straits, so he made for the north where he hoped to find a passage back into the Atlantic. Failing in this, he turned westwards and, surviving many other adventures, partly by skill and partly by good fortune, he rounded the Cape of Good Hope and reached Plymouth Sound in September, 1580. For the first time an Englishman had circumnavigated the Globe. Philip of Spain was furious at what was nothing but piracy of a particularly high-handed and daring type ; and, unless such exploits were prevented by the English Government, war would certainly result. That Elizabeth was convinced that war was inevitable for other reasons was shown by her signal act in going personally to the *Golden Hind* and knighting Drake on his own deck. Thus encouraged, a whole brood of English seamen used every opportunity to raid Spanish treasure-ships on their way across the Atlantic.

Sir Humphrey Gilbert.

A few Englishmen were not content with plundering other people's colonies and treasures. They dreamed of their country's winning territory overseas for herself and thence deriving her own wealth. The chief problem of these men was that nearly all the newly discovered world was already claimed by other nations, especially by the Spaniards and the Portuguese. One of the first men to try to realize the dream of an overseas England was Sir

Humphrey Gilbert, who in 1579 and again in 1583 went to Newfoundland with the object of founding a colony there. Lack of experience, the inclement climate, difficulty of furnishing right supplies, and other similar obstacles foredoomed the attempts to failure. In 1583 Gilbert, in the Queen's name, formally took possession of Newfoundland—which thus became the first English colony—but before the year was out he was compelled to return to England: Gilbert himself sailed on the *Squirrel*, a tiny ten-ton craft, which, seized by an Atlantic gale, foundered and sank, carrying with her all on board.

Sir Walter Raleigh, 1552–1618.

Gilbert's enterprise was not allowed to perish with him. His half-brother, Sir Walter Raleigh, was also an enthusiast for the project of colonizing: he had himself fitted out a vessel—named the *Raleigh*—for the 1583 expedition which he had been prevented from joining only by Elizabeth's express command; for Raleigh was then one of the young gallants whom she kept at her Court and whom she would not spare for any length of time out of her sight. In 1584 the Queen granted to Raleigh a patent authorizing him to take possession of any lands overseas not already occupied by a Christian prince. The eastern coast of the mainland of North America was the region selected for the enterprise, and after a preliminary expedition had in 1584 surveyed and reported upon the promising districts, a fully equipped colonizing party was sent out in 1585.

As the Queen still refused to allow Raleigh to take part in the expedition, the leadership was entrusted to Sir Richard Grenville. Over one hundred colonists were conveyed in seven ships; fortifications were erected on the Island of Roanoke; the neighbouring mainland was proclaimed to be English and, in honour of the Queen, the new colony was named *Virginia*. Grenville then, according to plan, sailed for home, promising to return the next

year with fresh supplies. The chief weakness of the settlement was the character of the colonists: some were quarrelsome, few were ready to endure the hardships of pioneers or to do the steady spade-work necessary for the development of a new colony, and they made enemies of the natives. In 1586 Drake visited the settlement after raiding the West Indies and, as Grenville had not yet reappeared, he yielded to the colonists' entreaties to take them back to England. Three days later Grenville arrived, only to find the settlement mysteriously deserted.

A similar settlement was attempted in 1587 when one hundred and fifty persons were left. Not one of them was ever seen or heard of again. Misfortune dogged the relieving expeditions in 1588—the year of the Armada—and 1589, and when in 1590 Virginia was again visited no trace of the settlers of 1587 could be found. Raleigh then abandoned the project, and Virginia was not permanently colonized until 1607. In 1595 Raleigh personally explored the Orinoco and the neighbouring coast. But his most glowing accounts of his journey and of the possibilities of settlement failed to evoke any practical interest.

2. THE ARMADA PREPARES

Not the least important result of the raids on the Spanish settlements and fleets, and of the early efforts at colonization in Newfoundland and Virginia, was the incidental one that a school of English seamen was being trained ready to meet the supreme challenge of 1588. In particular, the piratical excursions of Drake and his imitators afforded practice in exactly that type of maritime guerrilla warfare which was to prove so deadly when the Armada finally appeared.

Summary of Causes.

The various events and influences which combined to produce the open hostility of Spain have been related in

the previous chapter and need be only summarized at this point.

Elizabeth ensured the opposition of all the forces of the Counter-Reformation—including Roman Catholic Spain—when she chose to establish a Protestant Church. This opposition was made doubly sure by Elizabeth's refusal to marry Philip II. Philip's consequent desire to crush England was checked at the moment by two considerations: first, his attention outside Spain was fully occupied by the suppression of heresy in the Netherlands, and he rightly judged that the achievement of that purpose would be a valuable asset in an attack against England; second, he feared that open hostility would throw England into the arms of France and that those two States would be powerful enough to resist him successfully, especially in view of the trouble in the Netherlands. Philip's fear of an Anglo-French alliance seemed justified by the protracted negotiations for the marriage of Elizabeth to the Duke of Anjou and, later, to the Duke of Alençon. Elizabeth's flirtations with these two royal princes had, in fact, no other object than that of keeping Philip on tenterhooks and of delaying open warfare as long as possible. For this reason, also, Elizabeth pretended to try to restrain the English sailors whose marauding practices were driving Philip to the verge of war.

As the reign proceeded, Elizabeth's attitude to Philip grew less apologetic and more offensive. This change was due in part to circumstances over which she had no control and in part to deliberate policy. The death of the Duke of Alençon—who had become Duke of Anjou when his brother of that name had become King of France (1574)—in 1584 brought to a definite end the farce of a French marriage, though the "courtship" had really ceased in 1582. Alençon's death also made the Huguenot leader, Henry of Navarre, the heir to the French throne, the result being that the Guises, who were the dominant party at the French Court, tried to strengthen the hands of the Roman

Catholics by favouring Spain rather than England. Thus, from both points of view, the death of Alençon in 1584 removed one of the chief checks upon war between England and Spain. The assassination of William of Orange in the same year and the consequent prospect of an immediate Spanish subjection of the Netherlands brought the issue to a climax, so that 1584 was *the* critical year of the reign. That Elizabeth realized the crisis was shown by Leicester's expedition to the Netherlands in 1585 and 1586, which amounted to a declaration of war against Spain. By this time the English seamen had so increased both in numbers and in skill that the threat of a Spanish invasion was no longer the terror that it would have been a few years earlier.

Meanwhile the plots against Elizabeth's life were uniting the English people in her defence and rousing them to an intense opposition against Roman Catholicism and its protagonists. The result was "The Association" of 1584 which led, in February, 1587, to the execution of Mary Queen of Scots. This was the final straw. The new Pope, Sixtus V, proclaimed a Holy Crusade against Elizabeth, and Philip of Spain began to plan an expedition of unprecedented dimensions and worthy of the Crusade for whose service it was designed.

The Spanish Fleet.

Philip's plan was that a mighty fleet should carry nearly twenty thousand men from Spain and should pick up a similar number of troops from the Duke of Parma's army in the Netherlands. The Duke of Santa Cruz, a capable man with considerable experience of the sea, was appointed to command the expedition, and in 1587 under his direction the construction of the fleet was put in hand. All the resources of Spain were drawn upon for the enterprise, and soon ships and equipment were being concentrated at Cadiz.

Yet almost from the outset things began to go wrong.

In April, 1587, Drake set out with a small but efficient squadron to do what damage he could to the preparing fleet. He ravaged the shipping in Cadiz harbour, sinking some vessels, firing others, and seizing what stores he could. Drake's own phrase was descriptively accurate: he had "sing'd the King of Spain's beard". So thoroughly had Drake done his work that the Armada was unfit to sail until November, by which time the possibility of storms rendered unsafe the sailing of heavy ships crammed with soldiers, while the transport of the complete army across the Channel would be still more precarious. The expedition therefore had to be postponed until 1588, thus allowing Elizabeth and her officers invaluable months in which to complete their defensive preparations.

Philip's second misfortune was the death of Santa Cruz. His successor was the Duke of Medina Sidonia, and a more unhappy choice could hardly have been made: the new commander had no experience of naval warfare, and as soon as he left harbour he became helplessly seasick. There is no proof that the Armada would have been successful even if Santa Cruz had lived, but he would certainly have been able to avert the most glaring errors into which the Spaniards fell and to have prevented total disaster.

The English Defences.

Meanwhile Elizabeth was making defensive preparations. Beacons were arranged in series from the south coast across the country so that the news of the enemy's approach might be signalled throughout the land, when the local half-trained levies were to muster in readiness for whatever might happen. The only force of soldiers was gathered at Tilbury, where forty thousand men were in arms under the Earl of Leicester. Of what use these would be if Parma's army of veterans once set foot in England was difficult to say. Leicester's only qualification for command was that he was the chief Court favourite. Fortunately the test was never made.

The English navy was in numbers not inferior to the Spaniards, but many of the vessels were very tiny, so that what might be considered ships of the line were not more than seventy strong. Lord Howard of Effingham was in supreme command, and with him were Drake and Hawkins. What the English vessels lacked in numbers was more than compensated for in efficiency. The Spanish galleons stood up high out of the water. Their guns could not be either depressed or raised, and hence, as the ships rolled in the wind, their shot on one side fell short into the waves and on the other went sky-high. The ships were in reality floating castles, answering to the helm very tardily and intended primarily as carriers of the soldiers with whom they were crammed. The English presented a sharp contrast to their enemy in every respect. The vessels were light and swift, and could manœuvre perfectly at the will of the commander; they could fire deadly broadsides, and they carried only a very small number of soldiers; their crews were hardened, experienced seamen who understood, and were understood by, their admirals; and officers and men alike had for years been accustomed to exactly the kind of warfare that they intended to employ on the occasion ahead of them.

The one limitation under which the fleet suffered was shortage of supplies, both of food and of munitions. When the English fleet sailed to oppose the Armada, the supplies on board were sufficient for only a few days at most. In part this was due to the meanness of the Queen. But at least equally it was due to the general rise in prices which had rendered the royal revenue much less valuable than formerly—a phenomenon which Parliament did not understand and the effects of which we shall have to study more fully in due course—and to the unprecedented difficulty of organizing supplies for so large an armament through several consecutive months.

3. THE EVENTS

The Channel.

The Armada of one hundred and thirty ships left Lisbon on 20th May, 1588; but so bad was the weather, so ill-fitted were the ships, so vile were the supplies provided by fraudulent contractors, and so sick were the men, that at Corunna the fleet put in to refit and recover. Thence on 12th July it set sail once more, and on 19th July was sighted off the Lizard. The English fleet was at the moment revictualling in Plymouth and was able to take to the sea only in time to follow the Armada which advanced in crescent-formation up the Channel. The English commanders, taking advantage of the greater mobility of their vessels, contented themselves with a running fight and with cutting off stragglers: they would sail swiftly up to a Spanish galleon, deliver a broadside with terrible effect among the crowded soldiers in the hold, throw the whole ship into confusion or disablement and then retire to a distance out of range of their victim's guns and prepare to prey upon another helpless foe. This progress up the Channel occupied a week—from Saturday to Saturday—at the end of which time the fleets were opposite Calais.

Calais.

The Duke of Parma was not ready to embark at Dunkirk, according to the original plan, and Medina Sidonia therefore decided to anchor his ships in Calais Roads. But the English commanders had no intention of waiting idly until Parma found it convenient to move. On the Sunday evening of 28th July, fireships were prepared and towards midnight they were sent among the enemy's fleet. The suddenness of the attack inspired the Spaniards with helpless terror, and their leader's inexperience rendered him incapable of dealing with the emergency. The only appropriate command he could think of was to cut cables and stand out to sea. This was immediately done, and the

whole Spanish fleet moved out, followed by the English. Off *Gravelines* the only battle of the expedition took place. The Spanish galleons, helpless before the agility of their foes, were either sunk or sent aground or driven out of the fight. By the end of the Monday, those of the Spanish ships that were still free were fleeing northwards chased by Drake and Hawkins, who gave up the pursuit only when their powder was exhausted.

The Storm.

In thus escaping from one evil the Spaniards sailed into a worse one. A gale from the south drove them straight along the coasts of England and Scotland, and as they rounded the north of the Islands the elements worked havoc among them. Some were driven on to the Shetlands, others to the inhospitable islands and rocks of the west coast of Scotland, and some to Ireland. Fifty-three only returned to Spain, and they were bedraggled hulks. The English had lost a few men but not a single ship.

In 1589 Elizabeth made preparations on a great scale to take advantage of Spain's defencelessness. The results were far from proportionate to the anticipation raised. Corunna was raided but little else was achieved, and the whole affair was very much an anti-climax to the events of the previous year.

Results of the Defeat.

The true results of the defeat of the Armada were far wider than was implied by the attempt of 1589. The result which was largest in itself and which included the other results was that England became beyond dispute the mistress of the sea. Foreign invasion was therefore no longer a constant dread; Elizabeth was secure upon the throne; Protestantism was saved, not only in England but on the Continent; and the Dutch were able successfully to maintain their resistance to Philip and, ultimately, to gain recognition of their independence.

The defeat of the Armada had also effects, not less far-reaching though less obvious than these, upon the politics of England. This aspect of the reign of Elizabeth will be dealt with more fully in the next chapter.¹ Here we may notice that as her reign had proceeded, Parliament had shown an increasingly independent temper and had demanded the right to an opinion upon all matters of government. The Queen had been able to resist what she regarded as impertinences by declaring that to criticize her ministers at a time of national danger was disloyal not only to the Queen but also to the nation. That the State was in imminent peril and that the Queen with her ministers was doing her best for the nation were generally agreed. Consequently Parliament moderated its tone. With the defeat of the Armada, this reason for Parliamentary subservience passed away. But by that time Elizabeth had been reigning thirty years, so that those men who were in their prime in 1588 had never known any other monarch since their childhood. Elizabeth had become a national institution, associated in the popular mind with a great crisis and a glorious victory, and there was no likelihood that she would be unduly pestered by Parliament for the rest of her reign. But when her successor came to the throne these personal considerations would no longer hold good. The absence of danger abroad would certainly make Parliament bold to demand a greater share of political power. Hence one of the chief, though indirect, results of the defeat of the Armada was the quarrel between Parliament and the early Stuarts culminating in the Civil War of 1642.

4. ELIZABETHAN WRITERS

The Armada's more immediate effect upon the remainder of Elizabeth's reign was very marked. The Armada came exactly thirty years after Elizabeth's accession and fifteen years before her death, and its defeat goes far to explain

¹ Chapter IX, Section 3.

the difference between the characters of those two unequal sections of her reign. Until 1588 the shadow of Spain had been over the nation; the passing of the shadow was followed by a sense of expansiveness and of national self-consciousness unprecedented in English history. Nothing reflects this late Elizabethan sense of easy luxury so accurately as the outburst of literature and music. Hitherto the attention of Englishmen had been occupied by the more serious products of the Renaissance—the realization of individual and national freedom in religion and on the sea. The defeat of the Armada meant that both those objects had been secured; henceforward the English people were free to express themselves in, and to enjoy, the arts which hitherto they had almost ignored.

Edmund Spenser, 1552–1590.

Even before 1588 there had been some foretaste of what was in store. Sir Philip Sidney, for example, who died after Zutphen in 1586, had produced prose works of great promise. It was Sidney also who encouraged the first of the great Elizabethan poets, Edmund Spenser, who, having been appointed sheriff in County Cork, lightened the tedium of life in remote, half-savage Ireland by planning a poem of prodigious length called the *Faerie Queen*. The actual poem, as published in 1590, was only part of the work originally projected. It portrays life at the court of the great Queen Gloriana. In several respects Spenser's work was typical of much of the literature of the period: the characters depicted—the knights, and the distressed maidens who were freed from tyrants and from dragons—were not mere individuals in a poem but were allegorical representations of virtues and vices; and not much imagination was needed to see in Gloriana the figure of Elizabeth. That the Queen so interpreted the story and was pleased with the flattering suggestion is indicated by her granting to Spenser a pension of £50 a year.

The *Faerie Queen* was the first considerable work that

had been produced in English poetry since Chaucer's of two centuries earlier. Indeed, in rhythm and in language it owes much to Chaucer. Even more important was the fact that Spenser himself became a source of inspiration to other poets both of his own and of later days : hence the title of " The Poets' Poet " by which he is commonly known.

Christopher Marlowe, 1564–1593.

Such work as Spenser's, however, could not appeal to the general body of Englishmen, the bulk of whom were unable to read or to appreciate its literary qualities or allusions. It was through the stage that some measure of culture was to come to the masses. There was already a strong dramatic tradition in England—witness the popularity of the Miracle Plays which, from being religious observances enacted in the churches, gradually lost their distinctively religious character through successive removals to churchyard, travelling " pageant " or cart, inn-yard and market-place. From the Miracles and their modifications the Mysteries, Moralities and Interludes, it was but a step to permanent theatres and secular drama. At Blackfriars the first London theatre was built in 1576, and the Globe Theatre—the scene of many of Shakespeare's plays—was opened in 1597. To this crude drama, men of culture turned their attention, among them Christopher Marlowe, whose tragedies suited the popular taste—grandiloquent speeches, plenty of movement and sufficient blood. His most famous works were " Tamurlane the Tartar " and " The Tragical History of Dr. Faustus ". To what heights his powers might have risen will never be known : at twenty-nine years of age Marlowe was murdered in strange circumstances.

William Shakespeare, 1564–1616.

His work was overshadowed by that of his incomparable contemporary, William Shakespeare. To sketch Shakespeare's life and work is not part of our purpose. That

he was born at Stratford-on-Avon, went to London at an early age, was employed as a menial at a theatre, gradually rose by sheer merit to adapt and then to write plays, became part-owner of the Globe Theatre, and finally retired to spend his closing years at Stratford—these facts are well known.

What is of significance is his position as a writer among his contemporaries and for the future. That the greatest English dramatist should have arisen during the Elizabethan heyday was entirely fitting, for, far from being an isolated phenomenon, he was but the first among peers. His acquaintance, *Ben Jonson*, for example, wrote comedies in another kind—such as *Every Man in his Humour* and *Every Man out of his Humour*—which for a period were more popular than Shakespeare's own. *Francis Bacon* also, whom we shall have to notice again in the reign of James I, though not a playwright (unless, as some would have us believe, he wrote Shakespeare's plays!) wrote essays and scientific treatises in a pure English style which of its kind has never been surpassed. The matchless style of King James I's "Authorized Version" of the Bible¹ is a further proof that the ability to write beautiful English was almost a common accomplishment among Shakespeare's contemporaries. This does not belittle Shakespeare's achievements but merely shows them as the best of a wonderful age.

His ability to delineate character, to adapt—and, when it suited him, to ignore—the limitations of the stage and its implications in order to unfold his dramatic purposes, and to compel his audiences to share the intimate feelings of his personages, these features of his work did more than amuse the Elizabethans: they became the model of every serious playwright since. His fame is not limited even to his own country: all the world over, the words "Shakespeare" and "England" are almost synonymous, and not the least tribute to the immortality and universality

¹ Chapter XI, Section 1.

of his genius is the fact that no matter into what language his plays are translated they are realized as expressing recognizable characters and motives.

Domestic Architecture.

In strange contrast to this exuberance of literature, the Elizabethans did not produce any other notable examples of art. Though there were some musicians of note, they cannot be held to rank among the greatest of their kind. In painting and sculpture the period is almost blank. A possible exception is in the sphere of domestic architecture. The passing of the feudal baron and the introduction of gunpowder which would have made the moated castle untenable, led to the development of a different type of noble dwelling. The result was the beautiful Elizabethan mansion with its mullioned windows, heavily timbered gables, inviting porches, the whole being set amid delightful gardens, bowling green and parks.

These houses exactly express the spirit of the closing period of Elizabeth's reign : peaceful, expansive, delicate, dignified.

5. THE CLOSE OF THE REIGN

With some of the features of the last third of Elizabeth's reign we shall be concerned when in the next chapter we consider the general tendencies of the Tudor period, especially affairs in Ireland, social conditions and the relations between Elizabeth and her parliaments. Here we have to summarize some of the features that were peculiar to the closing years of the great Queen.

War against Spain.

First, the war against Spain did not end in 1588 ; hostilities persisted into the reign of James I. In 1589, as we have seen, Drake led an unsuccessful counter-armada, after which for several years Drake was in semi-disgrace. In 1591 Lord Howard with four ships went to the Azores

to wait for the Spanish treasure-fleet. Unfortunately, that fleet was convoyed by fifty-three great galleons, and the English had to retreat. One of their vessels, the *Revenge* commanded by Sir Richard Grenville, failed to escape, but when surrounded by the enemy it refused to surrender. The Spaniards therefore had no alternative to fighting. Throughout the day, the night, and most of the next day the fight went on until the *Revenge* lay a helpless wreck and until her crew besought Grenville to give up the useless struggle. Grenville, who was by then mortally wounded, was carefully removed to a Spanish ship where he was treated with high respect and where he died. In one sense the struggle had been hopelessly uneven from the outset; yet the single-minded heroism displayed by Grenville has made his name and that of the *Revenge* immortal in English history.

The year 1595 is notable for the last voyage of Drake and Hawkins, who were allowed to lead another expedition against the Spanish treasure-house in South America. Elizabeth's habit of procrastination, which grew with age, delayed the project long enough for the Spaniards to hear of it and to prepare defences. Also, the commanders were aging men and did not work together as whole-heartedly as formerly. Before anything had been accomplished, Hawkins died. Drake then managed to sack a few towns but captured little that was of value. Finally, in January, 1596, Drake himself died and was appropriately buried at sea.

In September, 1598, Philip II died and was succeeded by his son Philip III, and though this did not bring an end to the war between Spain and England, it marks an epoch in the relationship between the two countries.

New Ministers.

The deaths of Drake and Hawkins remind us of the second feature of the closing section of Elizabeth's life, namely, that the exceptional length of her reign meant

that she had outlived the counsellors on whom she had learned to rely. The Earl of Leicester, who had been a Court-favourite without any distinguished abilities, died in the Armada year. After his death, Sir Walter Raleigh and Leicester's stepson the Earl of Essex became the leading figures at the Court. Walsingham died in 1590, his place as the Queen's counsellor being taken by Robert Cecil, son of Lord Burghley who, on account of age, ceased to play an active part in the Government. Burghley himself died in 1598.

The Passing of the Queen.

By this time everyone knew that the Queen's life was drawing towards its close, and the problem of her successor remained for solution. The individual with the clear claim was James VI of Scotland, son of Mary Stuart. James was also a Protestant and was not likely to upset the settlement made by Elizabeth. The latter, however, refused to discuss the question of the succession, and without her consenting co-operation nothing could be done. But when early in 1603 she and her counsellors had to recognize that she was on her death-bed, she consented to James's succession. On 24th March, 1603, within six months of her seventieth birthday, Elizabeth breathed her last.

She had deserved the title of a great Queen. By nature and through early environment she was full of double-dealing and trickery, foolishly vain, procrastinating, niggardly, and often coarse. Yet, coming to the throne at a time of extreme crisis, she had found the right way for England to take and had set the nation steadily on that course. The establishment of Protestantism not only settled the immediate religious problem but settled it in such a way that England was put into the full tide of the Reformation and became one of the progressive countries of the world. Her encouragement of maritime enterprise led to England's becoming the leading naval and colonizing

nation of the world. Thus Elizabeth achieved the supreme summit of statesmanship: she not merely overcame the dangers that threatened her—in religion and abroad—but she transformed those dangers into the bases of England's future greatness. With all her uncertain whims, her people recognized that their Queen was working continually for the welfare of the State and working with success. The affection with which she was regarded was well reflected in her familiar title of "Good Queen Bess".

CHAPTER IX

REVIEW OF THE TUDOR PERIOD

THE purpose of this chapter is to review some of the factors whose operation was not limited to any one reign but was continued with cumulative effects throughout the Tudor Period.

I. SOCIAL CONDITIONS

The factor which perhaps matters most of all in the story of a nation is the conditions of its people's life. Did the Reformation, the Discoveries, the Armada and the other notable events of the Tudor Period have any effect upon the everyday life of the ordinary people? Differences in the standards of living, as between those days and our own, make clear answers to such questions very difficult; all that we can attempt is to sketch those factors in the national life which formed the background of the movements with which this book has been concerned.

Distress in Villages.

Though the Tudor Period saw an outburst of English life characterized by strong government and growing contact with an ever-expanding world, the lot of the mass of the people was extremely wretched. The primary cause of this misery was the enclosures for sheep-rearing resulting in unemployment and loss of a large proportion of the villagers' common lands.¹ This change from arable-

¹ Chapter V, Sections 1 and 2.

to pasture-farming must have meant a decline in the amount of corn grown and a consequent rise in its price. The price did certainly rise steeply: by the early part of Elizabeth's reign the price of corn was four times what it had been under Henry VII. But how much of this rise was due to enclosures is difficult to say—perhaps very little—for there was another factor at work producing a rise in the level of prices generally. That factor was the influx of precious metals from the New World.

The discoveries of silver, gold and precious stones in Chile and Peru seemed to open up possibilities of wealth for Spain beyond anything that Europeans had hitherto dreamed of. No one at the time understood that the value of gold and silver—regarded as media of trade—was only relative to the value of the goods for which they were to be exchanged, so that if the quantity of goods remained the same while the amount of gold increased two or three times, the price of goods would be doubled or trebled. That was exactly what happened: Spain and the other nations, as the new metals gradually penetrated through Europe, suffered a general rise in prices. By the latter part of Henry VIII's reign, England too was beginning to feel these effects. Henry VIII, consequently suffering from shortage of money, tried to defend himself by debasing the coinage.¹ The common people, however, had no such easy way of adjusting themselves to the new economic situation. Their only relief would be a rise in wages, but wages always lag behind prices and, in a time of a rapid rise in prices, they lag a long way behind. Thus, to the unemployment and poverty due to enclosures of arable land and of common land was added distress due to high prices.

Decline of Towns.

These adverse effects were not limited to the villagers. The distinction between town and country was much less

¹ Chapter V, Sections 1 and 2.

marked in the sixteenth century than it is to-day. Great manufacturing and commercial cities, with dense masses of population, were unknown. Absence of census figures makes an accurate estimate of the population of particular towns or of England as a whole almost impossible. The total population of England is usually computed to have been less than five millions, of whom perhaps nearly one-tenth lived in the capital. London was, indeed, the only place which at all approximated to the modern town, that is, where industry and commerce were the dominant interests. The other towns were what we should consider to be only large villages in which, though there was some industry, there was a large agricultural interest also. Hence, equally with the villages, the towns suffered not only from the rise in prices but also from the enclosures.

The towns, however, were subject to a further cause of poverty peculiar to themselves, namely, the restricting influence of the guilds. These organizations, formerly operating to encourage trade, had gradually fallen into the hands of narrow family cliques in each town, these cliques trying to exploit the privileges of their position for their own selfish advantage: they restricted membership of the guild so that hardly anyone except the son of a member could gain admission, and at the same time they used the rights of their charters in order to prevent non-members from engaging in trade within the town. The result was that many enterprising craftsmen, unable to work in their own towns, moved out to neighbouring villages where there were no guilds to restrict them. These villages therefore began to grow into towns, though they had no charter; Manchester, Sheffield and the wool towns of the West Riding of Yorkshire being instances. At the same time many of the ancient corporate towns, such as York, Lincoln and Coventry, suffered rapid decline resulting in unemployment and poverty.

Poor Law.

For the first time in England there was a large and growing body of unemployed men. Some unemployment, especially at certain seasons of the year, had been common for centuries. Much of it had been relieved by the monasteries, but Henry VIII's dissolution of the religious houses removed this convenient means of help. Worse still, the new unemployment was not seasonal or temporary but was permanent, and the absence of any form of national relief left the workless no alternative to wandering and begging. In a word, vagabondage became general and widespread.

The Tudors' idea of dealing with this policy was, at first, to continue the policy of their predecessors, that is, to try to suppress it by severe punishments. In 1531 a statute enacted that genuinely needy persons should be given licences by the Justices of the Peace authorizing them to beg within a specified district, but that able-bodied beggars should be whipped. An Act of 1536 set up machinery necessary for providing means of supporting the impotent poor: it made churchwardens responsible for collecting alms each Sunday and holy day and for distributing these gifts to the poor.

The ineffectiveness of these statutes was proved by an Act of the first year of Edward VI. Any vagrant was liable to be branded with a V and to be kept in slavery for a period. If after release he was caught begging again, he was to be kept in perpetual slavery and to be branded with an S. This Statute—one of the most brutal in English history—was no more effective than the others, partly because it made no attempt to cure the cause of the distress and partly, we may guess, because the responsible officers shrank from inflicting such inhuman penalties. The Branding Statute soon went into disuse and was replaced by the 1552 Statute¹ which revived the principle

¹ Chapter V, Section 3.

of that of 1536 and which was further elaborated by an Act of Mary's reign (1555).

Industry under Elizabeth.

To some extent trade revived during the later part of Elizabeth's reign. The maritime and oversea developments offered new opportunities of employment. The revolt of the Netherlands against Spain interfered so severely with their woollen industry that there was little demand for English wool, and many landowners consequently began to revert from sheep-rearing to corn-growing and so employed more men than latterly, and at the same time Englishmen began more commonly to weave their own wool.

Elizabeth and her ministers, however, did not rest content with the improvement which circumstances seemed to be producing: they did their utmost to stimulate economic revival. One of the most serious hindrances to trade was the debasement of the coinage which made every commercial transaction uncertain and a source of friction. In 1560 Elizabeth carried out successfully a great scheme of re-coinage: the existing coins were withdrawn from circulation and were replaced by newly minted money. The effect was to stabilize prices and foster commerce. Burghley encouraged shipping by allowing a bounty on each vessel built, by preserving the materials necessary for ship-building, and by fostering the fishing industry. Patents were issued to enterprising individuals, both English and foreign, securing to them certain privileges in return for their development of industries: in this way such varied manufactures as those of cloth, steel, glass, salt and soap were encouraged.

A remarkable measure, passed in 1563, is of interest not merely because of its beneficial effects but because it is evidence of the keenness of Elizabeth and her ministers for national prosperity. This was the *Statute of Artificers* which laid down, among other regulations, that every able-bodied man was to work in the fields if required to do so,

especially at harvest; that labourers were to be given security by being hired for twelve months; that wages were to be assessed by Justices of the Peace; that apprenticeship was to be for seven years; and that in corporate towns apprentices might be drawn from the sons of forty-shilling freeholders, whereas in non-corporate towns an apprentice's father was to be at least a sixty-shilling freeholder. Evidence shows that this measure definitely encouraged industry back to many corporate towns and that wages rose in a way that relieved the worst of the distress arising from enclosures, which gradually ceased to be regarded as harmful.

Elizabethan Poor Law, 1601.

The revival of trade did not abolish all poverty, and before the end of Elizabeth's reign a thorough revision was made of the existing Poor Laws. A statute of 1601 enacted that in each parish "Overseers", appointed by the Justices, were to levy a rate on the inhabitants of the parish for the relief of the impotent poor; able-bodied men willing to work were to have work found for them; idle vagabonds who refused to work were to be whipped; and poor children were to be apprenticed to a trade. These provisions were based upon two principles, namely, that a distinction must be made between the genuine poor and idlers (the latter of whom were by the Elizabethans called "sturdy beggars"), and that each parish should be responsible for its own poor. In both these respects the Act of 1601 was for three centuries the basis of the English Poor Law, that is until 1930 when the powers of the Poor Law authorities were transferred to county authorities.

2. IRELAND

Pre-Tudor Ireland.

It was under the Tudors that Ireland began to play an active part in English politics and that the seeds of future

troubles for both countries were first sown. Before this period the influence of England in Ireland had been vague and intermittent. As far back as the twelfth century Pope Adrian IV had granted Ireland to Henry II, who thereby became "Lord of Ireland". But the title was little more than nominal: from Henry II's time onwards the English King's authority extended no farther than to Dublin and the district round about—known as the "Pale"—and even there it was not very real. The rest of Ireland, entirely unaffected by the supposed overlordship, continued its wonted half-barbarous existence. Each tribe—such as the O'Neills, the O'Connors, the Butlers and the Fitzgeralds—was ruled by its chieftain and was usually fiercely at war with its neighbours or was planning raids on their cattle and crops. The most powerful man of them all was the Earl of Kildare, chief of the Fitzgeralds of Leinster. One of the Kildares was made Lord Deputy by Henry VII¹ but he nevertheless aided the impostors Simnel and Warbeck. The consequent suspension of Kildare gave to Henry VII the opportunity to send over his own representative, Sir Edward Poynings, during whose Deputyship the famous Poynings' Act was passed in 1494.

Henry VIII.

Henry VIII adopted a vigorous and decisive attitude towards the turbulent Irish. On the death of the Earl of Kildare who had troubled Henry VII the new Earl was appointed Deputy by Henry VIII. But, being no more loyal than his father had been, in 1534 he was brought to England. A rising of his son and his supporters was followed in 1536 by the execution of the father, his five brothers and his son.

This wholesale extirpation of the Fitzgeralds brought temporary peace to Ireland and encouraged Henry to enforce there religious changes similar to those which he was then carrying out in England. The Acts separating

¹ Chapter II, Section 3.



the Church from Rome, and substituting the King for the Pope as Head of the Church, were made to apply equally to Ireland, an Act of Supremacy being in 1542 pushed through the Dublin Parliament. In the same year the Irish monasteries were suppressed, some of their lands being granted to Irish chiefs with a result similar to that in England, namely, that the new owners tended to favour the new ecclesiastical settlement. A symbol of the altered situation in Ireland was Henry's assumption in 1542 of the title of "King of Ireland" in place of the "Lord of Ireland" given by the Pope to Henry II. The success of this move was more apparent than real. In England, Henry VIII's ecclesiastical changes had been generally welcomed because they satisfied the popular desire for a national Church; but in Ireland, Henry's supremacy was as foreign as the Pope's and lacked the sanction of traditional veneration which the latter enjoyed. Consequently the native Irish, that is, the Celts, remained even more closely attached to Rome than before. Thus was begun between the two countries the religious antagonism which during four succeeding centuries has been a primary cause of ill to both of them.

The further ecclesiastical changes of Edward VI's reign caused renewed disturbances; but the insurrections of Mary's reign showed that the religious question was only one of the reasons for unrest and was perhaps little more than an excuse for it. Mary tried a new method of pacification: the lands of the two rebellious chieftains were confiscated and "planted" with English settlers, thus forming King's County and Queen's County, their respective county-towns being named Philipstown and Maryborough. This precedent of plantation was to be followed on a grander scale by the Stuarts and Cromwell.

Elizabeth.

Irish history during the reign of Elizabeth seems to consist of a series of insurrections. In 1565 Shane O'Neill created disturbances in claiming the overlordship of Ulster

where his family held considerable territories. Two years later the disorder was suppressed and Shane was killed.

A more serious cause of trouble was that the influences of the Counter-Reformation were being brought to bear upon Ireland which became overrun with Jesuits. The Pope's excommunication of Elizabeth in 1570 strengthened the hands of Roman Catholics, who no longer regarded her as their legal sovereign. Finally in 1579 a great rebellion broke out under the leadership of the Earl of Desmond, the leader of the Munster branch of the Fitzgeralds. The rising, which assumed serious proportions, was stiffened by a force of eight hundred Spaniards and Italians who in 1580 landed at Smerwick. Elizabeth, however, adopted vigorous measures. Admiral Winter blockaded the invaders by sea, and Lord Grey de Wilton attacked them by land; the whole force was captured, treated as rebels and slaughtered. Though this wrecked any chance that the rebellion ever had of ultimate success, three more years were occupied in completely stamping out every vestige of unrest. The four years of warfare left Munster depopulated and devastated, and Elizabeth decided to carry out a "plantation" of Munster on a scale larger than any previously attempted. Something like half a million acres were transferred to English settlers, among whom were Sir Walter Raleigh and Edmund Spenser, the poet.

The next—and last—rebellion of Elizabeth's reign was that of Hugh O'Neill, Earl of Tyrone, in 1596. His primary object was the assertion of the semi-independence which his fathers had enjoyed in Ulster, but the mainspring of the movement was the missionary work which for a generation the Jesuits had been carrying on among the Irish; and when in 1598 Tyrone defeated the English forces at the Yellow Ford on the River Blackwater in Ulster, nearly all Ireland rose to support him. Never had the Irish situation appeared more menacing. Elizabeth decided upon prompt and large-scale operations. Twenty thousand

men were sent over, the Earl of Essex being appointed Governor-General. The choice was as bad as it could have been. Essex was well-connected at Court—he was Leicester's stepson and Walsingham's son-in-law; he was also a man of fine presence and high spirit. But these possibilities were vitiated by inordinate ambition and consuming jealousy. Even apart from these personal blemishes, Essex had no outstanding military abilities. Instead of employing his fresh troops to thrust at the centre of the disaffection in Ulster, he spent precious weeks in an ineffective campaign in Munster where disease and desertion worked such havoc among his men that within a few weeks his army numbered little more than a quarter its original strength. He then tried to negotiate with Tyrone, but the latter, knowing that time was on his side, refused to treat. Meanwhile the Queen was urging upon Essex the need for vigour and dispatch in the campaign. At last, towards the end of 1599, he arranged with Tyrone for a settlement of Ireland on the basis of what we should call Home Rule, namely, that Ireland should have self-government while acknowledging the suzerainty of the English Crown. Immediately after concluding this Treaty—which he had no authority to make and which was but an attempt to cover up the failures of the campaign—Essex hurried home to make his peace with Elizabeth. Presuming upon his personal goodwill with her, Essex, while still worn and stained with travel, forced his way into the royal presence and craved her favour. During the interview the Queen retained her calm, but she never forgave Essex either for his betrayal of his trust as commander or for the affront to her dignity. He had acted as a spoilt child and could be treated only as such. He was dismissed from Court and lived in disgrace. Even then he had not learnt his lesson but plotted with a number of discontented folk—chiefly Roman Catholics who chafed against the laws under which they suffered—to raise a rebellion. The whole scheme proved a hopeless failure:

no one moved to support the rebels ; Essex was captured, tried for treason and executed.

Meanwhile the command in Ireland had been entrusted to Lord Mountjoy. The folly of Essex had bequeathed to Mountjoy a task of the utmost difficulty. Dublin was the only place not in rebel hands, and, in spite of Mountjoy's great abilities and vigour, three years elapsed before he had the situation in hand. Late in 1601 a force of four thousand Spaniards landed in Kinsale. Mountjoy with great skill managed to defeat the Spaniards and then turned his attention to a systematic reduction of Ireland. The whole country was devastated and ravaged until it lay in ruins. Shortly before the death of Elizabeth, Tyrone submitted on condition that his life should be spared and his lands restored. For the first time in history, Ireland had been thoroughly conquered by England. But the methods of the conquest, no less than the conquest itself, left a terrible legacy to be inherited by succeeding generations.

3. PARLIAMENT

Our final subject of review concerns the relationship between the Tudors and Parliament. To understand this relationship we have first to be clear about certain of the respects in which parliamentary practice in Tudor times differed from that in our own.

Its Constitution.

First, a modern parliament is supposed to be a representative assembly in the sense that every adult person has a vote for a Member of Parliament. In Tudor England this was unthought of. Every shire sent two knights to the House of Commons, every city sent two citizens, and certain boroughs sent two burgesses, but these were elected only by landowners or, in the case of towns, by a small group of privileged folk. The masses of the people were not directly represented, though theoretically, and often practically, their rights were cared for by the more

privileged section of the community. The House of Lords also was different from that with which we are familiar. Under Henry VII the total number of peers was less than ninety, of whom forty-nine were archbishops, bishops and abbots, so that in the Upper House the Church had a preponderating influence.

Second, both the theory and the practice of government were different from those which obtain to-day. We regard Parliament as ruling the country with the assent of the monarch ; but this is only a very modern idea. Throughout the Middle Ages and under the Tudors, the King was responsible for governing the country : only when, and in so far as, he needed further help or advice did he summon a parliament. Hence sometimes several years elapsed between the dissolution of one parliament and the summoning of the next. Henry VII, during the last eleven years of his reign, summoned only one parliament, namely, in 1504 ; under Henry VIII there was no parliament between 1515 and 1523, and again none between 1523 and 1529 ; and Elizabeth on several occasions allowed four years to elapse between parliaments.¹

The chief business of Parliament was to make grants of money to the King, for the principle had long ago been established that no taxation could be levied without the consent of Parliament. Hence under Henry VII Parliament was not in a position to assert its importance because the King's methods of raising a plentiful supply of money rendered him financially almost independent, especially as the country preferred that the King should extort large sums from a few wealthy folk rather than that he should levy taxes upon the whole nation.

Henry VIII.

Henry VIII's reign marked a notable stage in the development of the powers of Parliament. During the first

¹ For further details, see *The Constitutional History of England*, by F. W. Maitland, pp. 178, 248-51.

six years of the reign there was a parliament every year ; between 1514 and 1529—the period of Wolsey's supremacy—the only parliament that met was the one of 1523 which sturdily withstood the Chancellor's demands for a colossal grant¹ ; then followed the Reformation Parliament of 1529 to 1536 ; and there were several parliaments between 1536 and the close of the reign. Henry VIII's consistent policy evidently was to rule through Parliament, a fact which is proved the more clearly by the contrasting policy which obtained while Henry was under the influence of Wolsey.

Henry VIII's willingness to work through Parliament was due in large measure to the latter's readiness to be the tool of the King. As we have seen,² by the *Succession Acts* of 1534, 1536 and 1540 Parliament three times altered the order of succession to the throne in accordance with the wishes of the King, and in the second and third of those Acts it altered what it had already enacted. A second example of parliamentary subservience was the 1539 Act, whereby Parliament empowered the King, with the advice of his Council, to make proclamations which should have the force of law ; in so doing Parliament was voting the transference to the King of its own hard-earned powers of law-making.

The chief parliamentary struggle of Mary's reign centred around the question of the Queen's marriage. Only after long and bitter debates did Parliament agree to allow Mary to marry Philip II of Spain and then only under strict limitations of Philip's powers in England.

Elizabeth.

During the reign of Elizabeth the House of Commons began to assert its rights against the Queen. Two matters were always liable to produce disputes between Elizabeth and the Commons, namely, the question of the Queen's marriage and the right of Members to freedom of speech. The former of those matters was of the highest consequence

¹ Chapter III, Sections 3 and 4 ; Chapter IV, Section 3.

² Chapter IV, Sections 3 and 5.

to the welfare of the nation because with it was bound up the succession to the throne. In January, 1563, the Commons petitioned: "That it may please your most excellent Majesty . . . to take to yourself some honourable husband"; and in April the Queen returned an evasive answer that meant nothing. A similar petition in 1566 resulted in the Queen's command that "they should no further proceed with their suit"; but when the Commons firmly asserted their right to free discussion the Queen finally "did revoke her two former commandments, requiring the House no further at this time to proceed in the matter; which revocation was taken of all the House most joyfully with most hearty prayer and thanks for the same." Elizabeth had known how to give way so as to evoke the loyalty instead of the enmity of her Parliament, but the essence of the victory was with Parliament. Yet five years later the Queen made known her view that the Commons "should do well to meddle with no matter of state but such as should be propounded unto them, and to occupy themselves with other matters concerning the commonwealth".

The final clash during Elizabeth's reign came in 1601 over the subject of monopolies. Monopolies were grants to individuals of exclusive rights of trading in particular classes of goods; in return for these valuable privileges the individuals paid to the royal exchequer large sums, so that monopolies were virtually means of revenue. But for the nation as a whole the practice often had distressing results, especially when the monopoly was for some necessity of life, because the lack of competition enabled the monopolist to charge high and often exorbitant prices for goods. The Tudors had extended the practice considerably, and in 1597 the Commons ventured to protest. During the following few years the mutterings against monopolies grew into a storm. In 1601 a Bill against monopolies was introduced into the Commons whence, after fierce and prolonged debates, it was passed to the Lords. Elizabeth's

action in the crisis was typical of her adroit diplomacy: she intervened before the measure was through the Lords—that is, before she was compelled to intervene—and, expressing “the indignation of her Majesty towards these abuses”, she promised that “some should be presently [i.e. immediately] repealed, some suspended, and none put into execution but such as should first have a trial according to the law for the good of the people”.

Results of Parliament's Subservience.¹

Thus, until the latter part of the reign of Elizabeth, the Tudor parliaments were generally subservient to the Crown. Yet this subservience had a consequence which no one at the time could have foreseen. The very fact that Parliament was so completely the tool of the Monarch meant that the latter was willing to work through it and to use it to achieve the interests of the Crown. Because working through Parliament involved less opposition than a display of crude absolutism, the Tudors were content to use that means. The ultimate result was, however, the very opposite to that which they imagined. The parliaments of the Stuarts were able to point back to the precedents thus established and to say, in effect, that even such sovereigns as the Tudors had never ventured to be so despotic as to ignore, still less to flout, the will of Parliament. Indeed, quite apart from any particular deduction, it surely is of noteworthy significance that the Tudors did work through Parliament. The simple fact stands that Henry VIII did not venture to issue proclamations without Parliament's consent, or to ignore a previous Act without lawful permission. Neither did Mary venture to marry Philip without Parliament's sanction, a sanction which was given only on Parliament's terms.

In short, though the despotism of the Tudors appeared for the time to crush the power of Parliament, in reality

¹ This paragraph is mainly a quotation from the author's *The Story of the British Constitution*, pp. 89–90.

that despotism created the strength which Parliament was to need in its struggle against the Stuarts.

Agreement between Parliament and the Crown.

We must beware, however, of concluding that absence of open hostility between Parliament and the Crown is invariably evidence of Parliament's servility: absence of opposition may mean genuine agreement; and Parliament often acquiesced in Tudor policy because that policy represented national interests. Henry VII was a strong ruler who used the Court of Star Chamber rather than Parliament; but by such means he gave England peace and good order which above everything else were what she desired after the unrest of the previous thirty years, and Parliament was therefore willing to allow itself to be ignored. Henry VIII's parliaments came as near to servility as Parliament has ever come, yet, though frequently changing measures were the reflection of the frequently changing policy of Henry, those measures did in the main represent the national will: the ecclesiastical measures were the execution of the long-standing desire for freedom from a foreign Pope, and the Succession Acts were attempts to deal with a problem whose settlement was essential to the peace of the country. Elizabeth knew how to keep Parliament in what she considered to be its place, but Parliament recognized that, with all her whims and vagaries, the Queen was ruling in the interest of the nation. The general absence of bitterness between the Tudors and their parliaments was thus due not solely, or mainly, to royal intimidation but to co-operation between two partners with common aims, Parliament often being content to be the "sleeping partner" so long as the welfare of the State was in safe hands.

Growth of Parliamentary Independence.

Only during the closing years of Elizabeth did Parliament show a growing spirit of independence. The reasons for

this change, though mentioned already, may be briefly summarized as follows.

First, Puritanism, which became steadily stronger notwithstanding the opposition of Archbishop Whitgift¹ was the expression of, and in its turn fostered, an attitude of virile independence. The Puritans were men and women—often cultured and single-minded—who refused to accept either their religion or their politics ready-made from bishop or king. Their increasing numbers in the nation were reflected in increasing representation in Parliament, and their sturdy independence goes far to explain why Elizabeth sometimes followed the prudent course of yielding to the demands of her "faithful Commons".

Second, the defeat of the Armada in 1588 removed the dread of foreign invasion which had for so long diverted the nation's energies and attention, and had provided Elizabeth with an excuse for secrecy and arbitrary government.

Third, the decline in the value of money, resulting from the influx of precious metals from the New World, made the Queen more dependent upon parliamentary grants and at the same time made Parliament resentful of what it regarded as royal extravagance, since Parliament had no better understanding of the reasons for the exchequer shortage than had anyone else. Of her total annual income—which was less than half a million pounds—nearly four-fifths consisted of fixed amounts raised from such sources as customs, Crown lands and fines, only the remaining one-fifth being granted by Parliament. Hence while prices rose, the bulk of the royal income remained nearly stationary and the Queen's requests for increased grants were unsympathetically received. Herein lies the explanation of Elizabeth's failure to maintain and supply the fleet more liberally or to send large-scale expeditions to the Netherlands. Herein also will lie much of the explanation of the bitterness between Parliament and the early Stuarts.

¹ Chapter VII, Section 3.

THE STUARTS

JAMES I	.	.	.	.	1603-1625
CHARLES I	.	.	.	.	1625-1649
(COMMONWEALTH	.	.	.	.	1649-1660)
CHARLES II	.	.	.	.	1660-1685
(Nominally 1649-1685)					
JAMES II	.	.	.	.	1685-1688
WILLIAM III AND MARY	.	.	.	.	1689-1694
WILLIAM III	.	.	.	.	1694-1702
ANNE	.	.	.	.	1702-1714

CHAPTER X

STUART KINGS AND PARLIAMENT SUMMARY

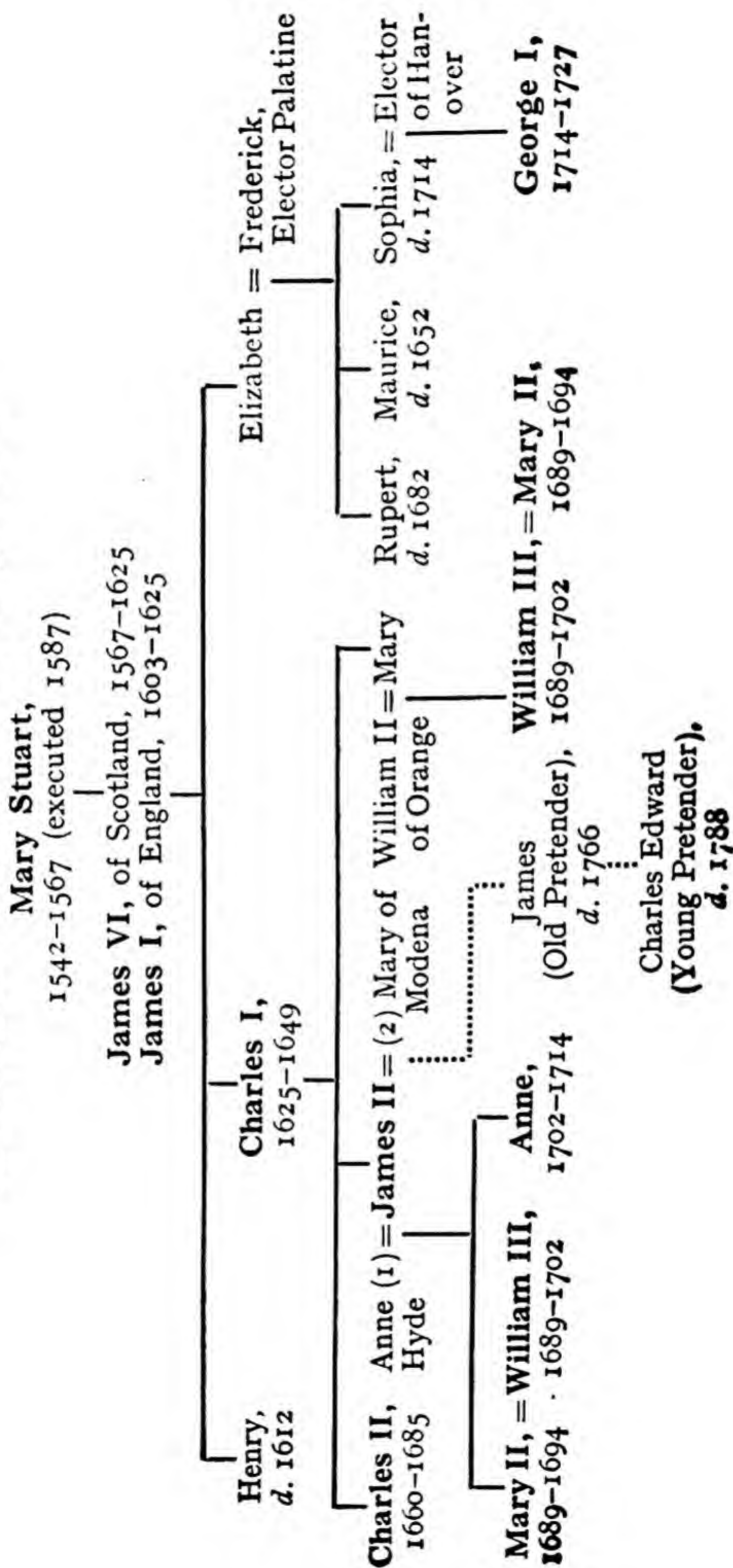
I. DIVINE RIGHT OF KINGS

THE history of the Stuart Period between 1603 and 1688 is the story of the struggle between King and Parliament for supremacy in the State. Already we have seen that under the Tudors Parliament was beginning to insist upon an active share in the government of the country. This demand implied a shifting of the balance of government. Whereas formerly the King had governed with Parliament's advice (when he chose to seek it), now Parliament was asking for a controlling voice in all state affairs, not as a favour but as a right, and, inasmuch as the King could not be expected to forfeit his former powers without protest, a clash between King and Parliament became inevitable. Throughout the reigns of the first four Stuarts the struggle continued, and we shall do well, before studying each reign separately, to try to grasp an outline of the period as a whole.

Meaning of the Doctrine.

The issue was first defined under James I and Charles I. This was due in part to the combination of circumstances to which reference was made in previous chapters—the use which the Tudors had made of Parliament, the rise in prices owing to the influx of gold from America, and the freedom which Parliament felt to criticize the monarch after the removal of danger from abroad—and in part to

THE STUARTS: DESCENDANTS OF JAMES I



James I's provocative claim to rule by Divine Right. The origin of this theory of government is not easy to trace. It never had a definite origin in the sense of being propounded in a complete form by its author : rather, the idea gradually grew as one of the features of the development of national monarchies following the Renaissance.

The essence of the theory was that the King was appointed to his royal office by God and had thus a *divine* right to the kingship. Several consequences naturally followed. First, the King was responsible to God alone and not to his people or their representatives. As God's nominee, he was supreme over every human authority : he could exercise his Dispensing Power in order to excuse individuals from obeying particular Acts, and by his Suspending Power could nullify the general operation of an Act. Moreover, resistance to the King was not merely unlawful or disloyal, it was opposition to God. This divine right to the kingship was held to pass by heredity from father to son or to the person next in rightful succession ; if for any reason that person was prevented from ascending the throne he nevertheless retained his divine right to that throne, so that the usurping king never could acquire such right and had no just claim upon the loyalty of his subjects.

The Parties.

In support of the general proposition of the King's supremacy in the State, much might be said. We have seen already ¹ that throughout the Middle Ages the King ruled, Parliament being little more than a consenting party, except perhaps in matters of finance. Even under the Tudors this was still true, and only during the latter part of Elizabeth's reign was there any sign of an independent spirit in Parliament. Had the theory of Divine Right been held by a line of wise and patriotic monarchs, the nation might not have raised open objection. But the

¹ Chapter IX, Section 3.

Stuarts, considered together, were not statesmen and, with the possible exception of James I, they saw nothing in their position save an opportunity to secure their own advantage at the expense of their people. In a word, the Stuarts were challenged not so much for their use of the royal prerogative as for their abuse of it. The result was that the opponents of the divine-right contention gradually formulated equally definite opposition doctrines. They claimed that the King, being elected by Parliament, was responsible to that Assembly as the representative of the people, and therefore that he had no power to dispense with or to suspend Acts of Parliament. —

The Stuarts' position as divinely appointed kings was enormously strengthened by the consistent support of the High Church party who, with "The Vicar of Bray", neglected no occasion of declaring that

Kings are by God appointed,
And lost are they who do resist,
Or touch the Lord's anointed.

The Puritans, on the other hand, were the champions of national liberties, and from their ranks sprang the great parliamentary leaders. In this way the constitutional question became inextricably entangled with a religious and ecclesiastical one.

The fundamental question, then, at issue between the Stuarts and their people, was that of the possession of supreme power in the State or, as it is usually expressed, of where Sovereignty lay—with King or with Parliament?

2. JAMES I AND CHARLES I

During the reigns of the first two Stuarts, James I and Charles I, that question occasioned a series of increasingly bitter quarrels. These were provoked not by the theory of kingship but by practical matters which were constantly arising, the following being the most important.

1. *Finance* : had the King the right to levy taxation, or did he depend upon parliamentary grant?
(Bate's Case, 1606; Five Knights' Case, 1627; Ship Money, 1634-1637.)
2. *Ministers* : who appointed them and to whom were they responsible—King or Parliament?
(Impeachment of Bacon 1621, of Buckingham 1626, of Strafford and Laud 1640.)
3. *Freedom of Members* of Parliament from arrest and of speech.
(Eliot, 1626; attempted arrest of Five Members, 1642.)
4. *Foreign Affairs* : were peace and war made by King or by Parliament?
(Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648; Buckingham's Expeditions to France, 1627, 1628.)
5. *Religion* : not a direct cause of the quarrel, but an important factor in the disputes owing to the respective political views of the High Churchmen and the Puritans.
(Hampton Court Conference, 1604.)
6. Finally, in 1642, attempts by both sides to control the militia.

Each of these political disputes was the outward expression of the general, underlying cause of quarrel, namely, where supreme power resided in the State.

Throughout the reigns of James I and Charles I the breach between King and Parliament grew constantly wider. Charles I, under pressure, made promises to respect parliamentary privileges (notably in the Petition of Right, 1628) but, apart from the shiftiness of his character, the supposed possession of divine right entitled him to ignore Statutes, and the parliamentary leaders gradually and reluctantly became convinced that nothing would effectively hold the King in check except force. Accordingly, in 1642 the Civil War broke out.

3. CIVIL WAR

During the opening campaigns the issue of the War hung in the balance with the advantage generally in the King's favour. The failure of the royalists to win conclusively during the first two years gave to Parliament the opportunity to gather and to organize their maximum resources, with the result that by 1645 Charles recognized his defeat and in 1646 gave himself up to the Scots. Then followed a period during which several parties tried successively to bargain with Charles, each promising to support him on the throne if in return he would grant certain religious or political concessions. Each party, however, discovered that Charles's fair words were only a cloak to cover his secret intrigues with the other parties. Charles was a clever schemer, but no one could go on playing such a game of bluff indefinitely against determined men who, after all, were his victors.

At last in 1647 the Army seized the King and tried during several months to negotiate with him an agreed basis of government. The only effect was that Charles's schemings with the Scots produced an invasion of England from the North (1648). The rising, though suppressed with great difficulty, convinced the Army leaders that, since the word of the King could never be relied upon, there would be no peace for England until he was out of the way. Accordingly, in 1649 Charles I was put on his trial and was executed.

4. COMMONWEALTH

The country had now to face the problem of government afresh. England had had no experience of any form of government other than kingship, neither was a precedent to be found of any modern state ruled on republican lines except a few small ones such as Venice. Accordingly, Cromwell—who was generally recognized as the one man marked out by natural gifts and by achievements for

supremacy in the State—and his fellow-officers began to try to discover by a series of experiments what was the ideal form of government. These experiments were summarized in :

1. *The Heads of the Proposals* of 1647. These were intended as the basis of a bargain between the Army and Charles (and hence date from before his death).
2. *Barebones' Parliament*, 1653, which was an attempt to obtain ideally qualified Members of Parliament but which failed because the assembly proved to be hopelessly impractical.
3. *The Instrument of Government*, 1653, set up the Protectorate with Cromwell as Protector. But the new Protector and his parliaments failed to agree, the result being that Cromwell tried yet another experiment, namely,
4. *The Major-Generals*, 1655. England was divided into a number of districts over each of which an officer, with the rank of major-general, was appointed to be responsible for the good order and protection of its inhabitants. This was government by the Army and, as such, aroused widespread opposition to Cromwell even among non-royalists.
5. *The Humble Petition and Advice* was consequently presented to Cromwell by his Parliament of 1657. Cromwell accepted the "Advice" which re-established the essential features of the ancient constitution of England except that Cromwell refused the clause which accorded him the title of King. Thus in everything but name the country had swung back to a monarchy.

5. THE RESTORED STUARTS

Oliver Cromwell's death in September, 1658, raised the problem of the government of England in a form still more

acute. He was succeeded immediately by his son Richard, but Richard's abdication in May, 1659, and the lack of an army leader of acknowledged distinction left only one possible solution to that problem, namely, the restoration of the Stuarts. Accordingly, in May, 1660, Prince Charles returned as King Charles II. The position was difficult for the new King and would need the greatest tact and adroitness. Though no formal bargain took place between King and Parliament, the Stuarts were in reality being allowed to return on trial: the nation was tired of the irregular tyrannies of the Commonwealth, and many even of the former Parliamentarians were willing to give to the Stuarts a second chance in the hope that they had learned the lesson of the Civil War. With great astuteness Charles II threaded his way through political snares and pitfalls. But England at such a time needed more than mere cleverness: it needed honest leadership, and Charles proved to be even more deceitful than his father had been. So acute was the opposition evoked by the King's unconstitutional methods that nothing but the consideration that even injustice was preferable to another civil war saved his throne.

When Charles died in 1685 he was succeeded by his brother James, who was much more obstinate than Charles in provoking trouble and much less clever in dealing with it. At last the nation would endure oppression no longer, and in June, 1688, William of Orange—husband of James's daughter Mary and holding the office of Stadtholder of Holland—was invited to bring an army to England for the protection of Protestantism. The upshot was that James fled, and William and Mary became jointly King and Queen of England.

One of the first statutes of the new reign was the Bill of Rights, which enunciated clearly the liberties which the Stuarts were regarded as having infringed: for example, the exercise of the dispensing and suspending powers and the levying of taxes without Parliament's consent were

declared to be illegal. Thus the Stuarts' claim, first advanced by James I, to rule by Divine Right was definitely and finally defeated. Henceforward the King was to rule by virtue of a bargain with Parliament which thus became acknowledged as no longer a "sleeping" but an active partner in the government of the country.

This struggle about parliamentary privileges, with its settlement in Parliament's favour, is the historical significance of the Stuart Period. To have that significance in mind when studying the Period is the surest way of understanding the meaning of the various events.

*This book was taken
by Mr. Henry Waterman.
11 years D.
A fine book for history student
from 1485 — 1685. 43*

CHAPTER XI

JAMES I, 1603-1625

Character of the King.

IT is difficult to think of James I as the son of the beautiful and queenly Mary Stuart. In appearance he was undignified—"the comic offspring of the tragic union of Mary Queen of Scots with Darnley"¹—shambling in his gait and awkward in all his movements. Intellectually, he combined a vast amount of learning—particularly of theology, Latin and history—with complete inability to put his knowledge to any useful purpose. Its chief effect was to make the King inordinately conceited and self-opinionated. One result was that, being excessively proud of his learning, he was very susceptible to flattery: to address him as the "British Solomon" was a sure way to win his favour. A more serious result was that he was not only ignorant of many subjects but was incapable of learning. This was the more serious because James was a complete stranger to England and to English manners. Of this he gave a striking illustration while yet on his way south to London: a pickpocket was caught red-handed while busy among the crowds who had gathered to watch the royal progress; and James, hearing of it, ordered him to be hanged at once without trial. Such high-handedness, though customary in Scotland, was clean contrary to the methods of English justice. Throughout his reign James continued similarly to infringe the traditions and prejudices of his subjects, in matters both small and great,

¹ *History of England*, G. M. Trevelyan, p. 381.

while either remaining unaware of giving offence or resenting criticism of the exercise of his prerogatives. This resentment was, of course, based upon and intensified by his doctrine of the Divine Right of Kings to which reference was made in the previous chapter.

In three spheres especially we shall watch the effects of James's obtuseness—in religion, in his relations with Parliament, and in foreign policy.

I. RELIGIOUS POLICY

Position at James's Accession.

Elizabeth's acceptance of Protestantism in 1558 and her defeat of the Roman Catholic Armada in 1588 had settled the major problem of religion which had faced the nation since the middle of the reign of Henry VIII. But Elizabeth's settlement, though satisfying the desires of the bulk of the nation, produced yet other problems which, steadily growing in dimensions, were to cause serious embarrassment to her successor.

First, her anti-Catholic measures had not destroyed Roman Catholicism but had merely driven it underground, so that, whereas its adherents were commonly thought to be a negligible remnant, in reality they were fairly numerous among the country gentry and their households in the centre and north of England.

(Second, the Puritans formed a vigorous and increasing element of the nation.) They included men of many shades of opinion: at the one extreme were members of the Church of England wanting only changes of detail in ritual, and at the other were members of small sects characterized by exaggerated emphasis upon one particular doctrine. Puritanism was strongest among the yeomen-farmers—that is, the small farmers who owned their own land—and among the commercial population of the towns, both of which classes had grown steadily in importance under the Tudors.

Hampton Court Conference, 1604.

The Puritans greeted the new King hopefully, for he had been brought up as a Presbyterian in Scotland and therefore might be expected to regard the English Puritans with favour. James had not long crossed the Border when he was presented with the *Millenary Petition* which purported to express the religious views of a thousand clergy of the Church of England, though in reality the number of signatures did not exceed eight hundred. Very moderate in tone, it requested, among other items, that a priest should be allowed some latitude in the vestments he wore and in the details of his services, such as in Church music and in bowing at the name of Christ ; that, provided a priest maintained the general practices of the Prayer Book, he should not be required to subscribe to the whole of that Book ; that Sunday should not be profaned ; and that pluralities (the holding of several livings by one man) should be abolished. James decided that the proper course would be to hold a conference representing the various schools of Protestant thought in order to discuss possible changes. This would give a fair show of royal justice and would allow James to display his theological wisdom.

Accordingly, in January, 1604, such a Conference met at Hampton Court. To what extent the Puritan demands were all practicable or wise might be a matter of opinion, but the moderation with which those demands were expressed gave hope that, if wisely handled, the Conference would end one of the chief religious difficulties of recent years by securing the permanent inclusion within the Established Church of all except the most extreme of the Puritan sects. James's determination to make no compromise for that purpose was shown at the outset by the composition of the Conference : of the twenty-two members only four were Puritans. The truth was that the Assemblies and the divines of the Presbyterian Church in Scotland had been so powerful as to be a serious rival even to

the King, and James, now that he had left Scotland behind him, had no intention of allowing a repetition of this ecclesiastical rivalry in England. The bishops at the Conference, rightly judging the King's attitude, supported the idea of Divine Right, with the result that James, appreciating who were his true friends, became a still firmer ally of the Anglican party.

During two days the King listened to the views expressed. Then one of the Puritans put forward the suggestion that in each diocese the bishop should consult with his Synod. This word had for James strong Presbyterian associations, and at the idea of the introduction of Presbyterian practices into England he immediately became alarmed. "A Scottish Presbytery", he exclaimed, "agreeth as well with a Monarchy, as God with the Devil . . . I thus apply it : No Bishop, No King . . . If this be all your party hath to say, I will make them conform themselves, or else will harry them out of the kingdom." Shortly afterwards he dismissed the Assembly.

The effects of the Conference were unmistakable. The King had definitely allied himself with the High Church party : "No Bishop, No King" accurately reflected the ecclesiastical attitude of the early Stuarts and the political attitude of the Church.

Second, the royal partiality for the Anglicans caused a hardening of the Puritans against both Church and King, and a sharper definition of their opinions. Three hundred clergy, refusing to conform to every detail in the Prayer Book, were ejected from their livings. [These were men staunch and devout enough to obey their consciences rather than profess an agreement with practices in which they did not believe, and among them were men of high culture and learning. This was the first large breach in the English Protestant Church.] Many of the ejected men went to Holland, whence, in 1620, a small band sailed in the *Mayflower* for America, having first called at Southampton and Plymouth, and settled at Plymouth on the North

American coast. Here was an unexpected, indirect result of the Hampton Court Conference.

Authorized Version, 1611.

The most far-reaching of all the results of the Conference was one quite aside from the main purpose of either party. Among the injunctions emanating from the Conference was one "that one uniform translation of the Bible to be made, and only to be used in all the churches of England". The reason for this was that, although several versions of the Bible existed in English—the "Great Bible" of 1539, the "Geneva Bible" of 1560, and the "Bishops' Bible" of 1572, as well as the greatest of them all, namely "Tyndale's Bible" of 1525—all but the last-named had been made by religious parties, and in certain passages they betrayed their partisan origin. Hence, no English reader could be certain of an unbiased, reliable translation of the Hebrew or Greek. James therefore appointed fifty-four translators, who included the most renowned classical scholars and linguists of their day and who did their work in six groups, the version of each group being considered by the other five. In this way a final version, agreed upon as the most nearly perfect, was arrived at. The result was the *Authorized Version*—so called because issued with the King's authority—which appeared in 1611. Like the first three of the translations mentioned above, this most notable translation of all was based upon William Tyndale's, of which, indeed, it was little more than a thorough, devout and talented revision.

The effects of the Authorized Version are beyond estimate. Two call for special mention. First, during many succeeding generations it provided the staple reading of the great majority of English men and women who were able to read at all, and, as such, it formed a basis and a standard for their manner of thought and speech and writing; it was, in short, a mighty instrument of national education. Second, this prevalence of Bible-reading carried

still further the tendency which we saw when reviewing the religious position at the opening of the reign of Elizabeth,¹ namely, that it stimulated the habit of individual interpretation of the Bible and so undermined the claims of the priesthood to be the sole, valid interpreter of the Scriptures. "Each reader, even if a Churchman, became a sort of Church to himself. . . . The Bible cultivated here, more than in any other land, the growth of individual thought and practice."² Though the Puritans had failed at the Hampton Court Conference to secure the immediate concessions for which they hoped, they gained in the Authorized Version an influence which, more than any other single factor, was to strengthen and propagate the independent spirit which for three centuries was to be their peculiar contribution to English life.

Bye and Main Plots, 1603.

At first sight, the Roman Catholics seemed to be more fortunate in their dealings with the new King than the Puritans were. James allowed the knowledge to spread that he intended to give to the Roman Catholics relief from the penal statutes under which they suffered. The effect surprised him: many of those who had fled abroad because of the Elizabethan persecution began to return, and those who had remained in England as unobtrusively as possible began to come out under their true colours. The real strength of Roman Catholicism, thus revealed, caused serious alarm to the King and his ministers who felt themselves compelled to enforce once more the anti-Romanist statutes. This turn of events caused bitter disappointment to the Roman Catholics, some of whom, under Jesuit influence, began to plot to get rid of the King. Three conspiracies resulted: the Bye, Main, and Gunpowder Plots.

The details of the first two are very obscure, and the

¹ Chapter VII, Section 1.

² *England Under the Stuarts*, G. M. Trevelyan, p. 61.

relation of the two plots to each other is more obscure still. The *Bye Plot* was concocted by Roman Catholics to seize the person of James and so to force him to grant toleration. One of the conspirators divulged the project, and the King's ministers, as the result of information gained, discovered traces of a more serious scheme still—hence the name of the two plots.

This *Main Plot*, hatched by Lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh, was directed against the King's chief minister Cecil, whose policy of peace with Spain they deeply resented. Cobham seems also to have had a plan for removing James in favour of Arabella Stuart, a descendant—like James—of Margaret, the elder daughter of Henry VII.¹ There is grave suspicion that Cecil deliberately confused the two plots in order to involve his personal enemies in a charge of conspiracy against the King. Some of the Roman Catholic plotters were executed, and Cobham and Raleigh were sent to the Tower, though the evidence against them was of the flimsiest.

Raleigh was condemned to death for treason and, after being reprieved, spent thirteen years in the Tower where he occupied himself chiefly in writing his *History of the World*. From time to time he begged James to allow him freedom to sail to the New World in search of treasure which he professed to know of. At last, in 1616, the King being particularly short of money, Raleigh was allowed to go, on condition that he was not to interfere with the Spaniards or with their lands. The conditions was impossible of being kept, but Raleigh, like a caged sea-bird, cared nothing so long as he could sail once more over his beloved ocean. The whole enterprise was disastrous: his crews were bad; conflict with the Spaniards was inevitable, since they regarded the New World as their preserve, Raleigh's own son being killed in a skirmish; and he had to sail back without treasure. Meanwhile the King of Spain had been protesting bitterly against Raleigh's raids, and James, who was then negotiating for a marriage between

¹ See Table, Chapter VII, Section 4.

Prince Charles and a Spanish princess, promised to punish the delinquent. As soon as Raleigh returned he was imprisoned once more, and James carried out the fourteen-year sentence for treason. In 1618 the last of the great Elizabethan seamen was executed.

Gunpowder Plot, 1605.

One of the results of the Bye and Main Plots had been the stern enforcement of the penal laws against Roman Catholics and an order that all Roman Catholic priests should leave England. This led a few extremists to retaliate by plotting against the life of the King. Under the leadership of Robert Catesby they planned to carry out their revenge in grand style. Cellars were hired beneath the Parliament House which was to be blown up when on 5th November, 1605, Parliament assembled. This deed was to be followed by a Roman Catholic rising in which all Roman Catholics, whether they wished or not, would be compelled to join in sheer self-defence. The execution of the explosive part of the plot was entrusted to Guy Fawkes, an intrepid Yorkshire Roman Catholic of extreme views, who had seen much service as a soldier in the Spanish army in the Netherlands. The cellars were stored with gunpowder, and everything was in readiness for the explosion when, at the last moment, one of the conspirators, having a relative in Parliament, gave a hint to his friend to absent himself. The warning was couched in such terms that suspicion of the plan was aroused. The cellars were searched, Guy Fawkes was arrested among his barrels, the rest of the plotters fled according to plan to Holbeach House in Staffordshire but no rising took place and the whole scheme became a fiasco: Fawkes was executed, Catesby was killed in a skirmish at Holbeach House, and others were taken back to London. Their hope of obtaining toleration was frustrated, and the Parliament which was to have been blown up avenged itself not unnaturally by passing stringent laws against Roman

Catholics. Until almost our own days, Roman Catholicism and Gunpowder Plot have been associated together in the popular mind, so that members of that faith were regarded with suspicion and as enemies to the common weal.

2. JAMES I AND PARLIAMENT

We have now to consider the larger issue of James's reign, namely, the opening stages of the breach between King and Parliament, both of whom claimed the possession of Sovereignty¹ in the State. Our present purpose is to see what were the particular questions which provoked that dispute during the period of James I.

Goodwin's Case, 1604.

The first Parliament of the reign had scarcely taken its seat when the fundamental principle was raised. When issuing the writs for the election of Parliament, the King had directed that no outlaw should be returned. In spite of this injunction, the electors of Buckinghamshire chose as their Member Sir Francis Goodwin, though he had been outlawed. When he was disallowed, the Commons, claiming their privilege to settle disputed elections, declared him to be Member for Buckinghamshire. James retorted that since Parliament "derived all matters of privilege from him and by his grant, he expected they should not be turned against him". Finally, after much conference and argument, James acknowledged the Commons' right to decide elections. But though the Commons had won what might be regarded as the first round of the contest, the King's startling assertion of Parliament's dependence for its privileges upon the royal favour caused serious alarm and boded ill for the rest of the reign.

Impositions : Bate's Case, 1606.

Two years later the question of the power to levy taxes was raised. The royal revenue was derived from three

¹ Chapter X, Sections 1 and 2.

sources : first, Crown lands and relics of feudal dues together yielded to the king an income over which Parliament had no control ; second, the first Parliament in a reign had for two centuries granted to each new king certain customs duties known as Tunnage and Poundage, that is, duties on every tun of wine and on every pound of certain dry goods imported from abroad ; third, when extraordinary expenses had to be incurred, for example on a war, Parliament made grants of additional taxes. Ordinarily the king was expected to discharge all the expenses of himself, his household and his government servants out of the first and second sources of revenue which together amounted to less than half a million pounds a year. James I found this to be an impossibility, partly because of his extravagant expenditure, on himself and his favourites, and partly because money had declined to one-third the value it had represented in early Tudor times. Consequently he was piling up a debt at the rate of about £100,000 each year. James thought he saw a simple way of supplementing his income without causing hardship to individuals or asking Parliament for fresh supplies. Though the country's trade had greatly increased during recent years, the limitations of duties imposed by Tunnage and Poundage prevented the King's obtaining therefrom a proportionally greater income. James therefore issued a Book of Rates which set up a system of import duties other than those customary under the Tunnage and Poundage grant. These additional levies became known as " Impositions ".

In 1606 a merchant named John Bate refused to pay an imposition which the King's officers had levied on a ship-load of currants. The judges before whom Bate was tried decided that the King was legally entitled to impose such duties, and Bate had to pay. Two issues were really involved in the case, namely, Parliament's right to grant taxation, and the dependence of the judges upon royal favour, for if they had not been appointed by and dismissible by the King they would certainly not have given a

verdict so contrary to the customary rights and liberties of Englishmen. The effect was that James continued to levy impositions as he willed, no one being able to prevent him, and so to that extent he became independent of Parliament.

The Great Contract, 1610.

A further squabble between the King and his first Parliament arose over what became known as the Great Contract. This originally was a mutual attempt to find a permanent solution of the whole vexed financial problem. The proposal was that the Crown should surrender its claim to the ancient feudal rights and should be granted in return an annual sum of £200,000. This would raise the royal income to a total of £600,000 which Parliament hoped would be sufficient to meet all the King's expenses. If this could have been agreed upon, James would have relinquished his claim to Impositions and the financial problem would thereby have been eased. Unfortunately, during the final negotiations disputes arose over details, there were mutual recriminations and mistrust, and at last the project fell through. In February, 1611, James angrily dissolved his first Parliament.

The squabbles of the seven years during which it had sat had so incensed James that he determined to rule without a parliament, and during ten years he adhered to his resolution. The only exception to the non-parliamentary rule lasting from 1611 till 1621 was in 1614 when James, hard pressed for money, was persuaded by his courtiers to try another parliament. As soon as it met it demanded the withdrawal of Impositions before a subsidy was granted. James in turn demanded a subsidy before redressing grievances. A deadlock therefore ensued, and after seven weeks this second Parliament of the reign was dissolved. Having neither granted money nor passed an Act, it became known as the *Addled Parliament*.

The Rule of Favourites.

James's attempt to govern without a parliament was not in itself a novel procedure. Under the Tudors there were frequently long lapses without a parliament. But James's personal government differed from that of the Tudors in three respects. First, he lacked the qualities of statesmanship and of will which his predecessors possessed. Second, whereas the Tudors used their personal power to promote the well-being of the State, James was moved by selfish conceit. Third, the Tudors carried out the functions of government through the medium of capable ministers who were nevertheless the servants of the monarch ; James also relied upon ministers, but these were courtiers and usually men of undistinguished origin who used the favour they had won with the King in order to enrich and empower themselves. The ten-year period without a parliament is therefore a period of rule by Court-favourites.

By ill-chance, the way for such rule was prepared by a double coincidence. James's first chief minister had been Robert Cecil, and early in the reign James had created him Earl of Salisbury. Cecil had inherited the Elizabethan tradition from his father, Lord Burghley, whom he had succeeded as chief adviser to the great Queen. Under his new master also he guided the State wisely and put a healthy restraint upon the King. Another wholesome influence at Court was the King's eldest son, Prince Henry, who, according to all contemporary accounts, was vigorous, capable and popular, and who, had he succeeded his father, might have saved both the Stuarts and England from many years of misery and have changed the whole current of national history. Herein, then, was the double coincidence : in 1612, the first year of James's non-parliamentary rule, both Salisbury and Prince Henry died and so left James a prey to the evil designs of courtiers who knew how to win favour by flattering the King's belief in his own wisdom.

Robert Carr, a Scottish adventurer of good appearance but worthless character, was the first of the favourites. James had created him Viscount Rochester in 1611, given him the office of Salisbury at the latter's death in 1612, and next year raised him to be Earl of Somerset. For two years he dominated the Court: honours and favours of all kinds and for all kinds of people were obtained through Somerset's influence over the King, the favourite being richly rewarded by those whom he served. The favourite's head was turned by the adulation he received, and he soon made himself heartily detested by everyone. In 1615 the Countess and Earl of Somerset were accused of getting rid of an enemy by murder, both were condemned, and, though the death sentence was not carried out, they were driven from Court in disgrace (1616).

George Villiers was the next favourite. He was raised to the peerage with the title of Earl in 1618, and then in 1623 Duke, of Buckingham. Though lacking the qualities of true greatness or statesmanship, Buckingham was a much more estimable person than Somerset. His rash impetuosity proved fatal to his most pretentious undertakings. Nevertheless he showed considerable vigour and competence as a leader, and his military failures were due nearly as much to ill-fortune as to inefficiency. The events of his career—associated mainly with foreign affairs—will be related in due course. With the King and Prince Charles, Buckingham's ascendancy became complete: James imagined a resemblance between a picture of Stephen and the features of Buckingham, whom he therefore familiarly called "Steenie".

There was yet another personal influence, perhaps more malign than either of the others, under which James lived, namely, that of *Count Gondomar*, the Spanish ambassador. It was at his behest—"demand"—would hardly be too strong a word—that the operation of the penal laws against Roman Catholics was relaxed and that Raleigh was sacrificed.

Third Parliament, 1621-1622.

The third Parliament of the reign met in 1621. The reasons for its meeting were connected with foreign politics and will be explained more fully in the next section of this chapter. Briefly, the position was that three years previously the Thirty Years' War had broken out between Roman Catholics and Protestants in Germany, and there seemed some likelihood of England's being called upon to intervene. As the irregular expedients whereby James had been raising money would not suffice to meet the expenses of a war, James had to resort to Parliament. This was the most important Parliament of the reign, for it insisted on raising questions which involved the critical issues of the coming struggle.

First, the process of *impeachment* was revived after having lapsed for nearly two centuries. When a minister or other person was impeached, the House of Commons accused him of a breach of the law, and the House of Lords, as a law-court, tried the case. Several persons were impeached by the third Parliament, particularly monopolists; but the most notable example of all was that of Francis Bacon. Bacon was one of the most learned men of his day, with an almost unrivalled knowledge in every sphere of thought. His *Novum Organum*, published in 1620, enunciated the principles of experiment which have proved the basis of all subsequent scientific investigation; and his *Essays* are written in an English style unsurpassed for exactness of wording and beauty of phrasing. In 1618 he was created Lord Bacon of Verulam and was made Lord Chancellor. Buckingham's preponderating influence over James prevented Bacon from exercising much power at Court, but he consistently supported the royal prerogative. This angered the Commons, who, having had some success in their opposition to monopolists, decided to impeach Bacon. Buckingham, hoping that the fall of the Lord Chancellor would appease the Commons, allowed the

trial to proceed. Bacon was therefore impeached for taking bribes when administering the law. In those days, payment for favours received in every office was the common practice, and Bacon pleaded guilty to having accepted money, though he claimed that never had he allowed his judgment to be warped by any gift, however large. Bacon was fined heavily, dismissed from office, and four years later died in disgrace—a striking precedent for later parliaments to follow against obnoxious ministers.

Freedom of Speech was the second of its rights which Parliament proceeded to vindicate. In 1621 James was negotiating for the marriage of his son Prince Charles with the Infanta of Spain. The Commons, strongly Protestant, distrusted the proposed marriage and petitioned the King that “our most noble prince may be timely and happily married to one of our own religion”. James retorted to the House “that none therein shall presume henceforth to meddle with anything concerning our government or deep matters of state”: this was addressed to “some fiery and popular spirits of the House of Commons” who “argue and debate publicly of matters far above their reach and capacity, tending to our high dishonour and breach of prerogative royal”. Such a challenge, if allowed to pass unheeded, would have ended all parliamentary freedom of speech. James was so furious that he sent for the Commons’ Journals from which he tore with his own hand the page on which their protest was recorded (the place where the tear was made can still be seen), dissolved Parliament in January, 1622, and imprisoned the leaders of the parliamentary opposition, especially Pym and Coke.

Fourth Parliament, 1624–1625.

After the dissolution of the third Parliament, the political position changed completely. The negotiations with Spain suddenly broke down and, under the influence of Buckingham and Prince Charles, James found himself declaring war against Spain. This was so much to the mind of the

people that in 1624 the King summoned another Parliament which, being enthusiastic for war, voted subsidies and, for once, co-operated heartily with Buckingham. However, even this Parliament was not blind to opportunities of confirming its own rights, and two measures of constitutional importance were taken.

The first was the *impeachment* of the Lord Treasurer, Earl Middlesex. His crime nominally was corruption, but the Commons' real grievance was that he opposed the Spanish war. What really mattered was that his conviction and disgrace added yet another precedent of Parliament's right to control the ministers.

The second was the passing of a *Monopolies Act* which forbade the granting of monopolies to individuals and so struck at the practice against which the Commons had complained in the time of Elizabeth.

Before the constitutional issue could be decisively settled, James I died (March 1625).

3. FOREIGN AFFAIRS

Position, 1603.

While the King's attention had been occupied mainly by disputes with Parliament and by devising means for raising money, he had been concerned also with affairs on the Continent. At the time of James's accession, there were three governing factors in foreign politics. First, after the Armada the war against Spain continued to drag on all through the remainder of Elizabeth's reign and into the reign of her successor. Second, in 1589 Henry of Navarre, the leader of the French Huguenots, had become King Henry IV of France; but the French Roman Catholics, who formed the vast majority of the nation, refused to accept this situation, and the religious strife was brought to a temporary end only when in 1593 Henry declared himself a Roman Catholic. Five years later, by the Edict of Nantes, Henry guaranteed liberty of conscience to

Huguenots throughout France and liberty of public worship in certain districts ; as security for these privileges, the Edict further granted to the Huguenots the right to garrison certain specified towns, the most notable being La Rochelle. The maintenance of these terms evidently depended upon the good will of the King, and the critical question was what would happen when Henry IV died.

The third factor was the impending religious struggle in Germany. Strictly speaking, there was no such country as "Germany". The area which we now call by that name was then divided into about three hundred states of various sizes—many of them no larger than an English estate—all theoretically subject to the Holy Roman Emperor. This personage was elected to his office by the rulers of certain German states who, through the accidents of history, had acquired the right to use their vote and who were consequently known as the "Electors"—usually there were seven of them. The degree of power which the Emperor was able to exercise over his subordinate rulers varied according to the personal strength of the individual Emperors, but usually his title was little more than nominal ; the fact that he had depended upon some of his possible subjects for election to office tended to weaken him after he was elected. In theory, again, the Electors could choose anyone as Emperor, but for nearly two centuries they had chosen a Hapsburg, that is, a member of the ruling family of Austria. As a result of the Reformation the three hundred German states had become divided into two religious camps, the north being predominantly Protestant and the south remaining Roman Catholic. Charles V, as Holy Roman Emperor, had spent the greater part of his life in trying to heal the breach, sometimes by force and sometimes by persuasion, sometimes recognizing the difference and sometimes trying to effect a reunion. In 1556 he was so wearied of the unavailing struggle that he abdicated his office to his brother Ferdinand and retired to Spain to die in peace ! The year before his abdication he

had effected the *Peace of Augsburg* whereby each prince was to determine which of the two rival creeds was to be accepted by his subjects : in a state with a Roman Catholic prince, for example, the people would have to choose between accepting Roman Catholicism and going elsewhere, and under a Protestant prince similarly. Nothing but universal weariness of a generation's strife made such terms acceptable. At the time of James's accession nearly half a century had elapsed since this Peace, and the wonder was that it had endured so long : all parties in Germany were growing more bitter and restless, and fresh trouble could not be delayed much longer.

These three factors—Spain, France and Germany—became inextricably connected in the politics of James I as his reign continued, but to understand them separately is the surest way to understand their varying relationships. James had his own ideas about international matters. He was a man of peace and he believed himself wise enough to be able to find a peaceable solution of European difficulties and to secure a general acceptance of that solution. That James genuinely desired peace was thoroughly praiseworthy especially in an age that was far from accepting his point of view. But by carrying his principle to the extreme of being unable to endure without shuddering the sight of a naked sword, and by blinding himself with conceit as to his own powers, he was unfitting himself to deal with the realities of the situation.

Spain and France.

James's first concern was to bring to an end the long-protracted war against Spain. In 1604 James and Salisbury negotiated with Spain a highly successful treaty whereby England reserved her right to trade with the Spanish colonies and to help the Dutch. In 1609 a truce was signed between the Dutch and the Spaniards, this also being due partly to the intervention of the English King and his minister.

Though active hostilities between England and Spain were thus brought to an end, the interests of the two countries were so completely opposite that permanent peace was impossible. The Roman Catholic states of Austria and Spain were still active, and if they renewed their offensive against Protestant Europe, England would not be able to afford to remain neutral. Before 1609 was out, England joined in an alliance with Henry IV of France, the Dutch and the Protestant princes of Germany. Henry was about to lead a united attack against Austria and Spain when, in 1610, he was assassinated. The balance of the European alliances was thereby thoroughly upset. Henry's son, who ascended the throne of France as Louis XIII, was a minor: the Queen-Mother, Marie de Medici, therefore acted as Regent and, being a Roman Catholic, reversed her husband's policy and allied with Spain.

The death of Salisbury in 1612 left James to pursue his own course in Continental politics. James realized the imminent danger of religious strife, and his great ambition was to exercise his statecraft for the preservation of peace. This he tried to secure by a system of marriages. In 1612 James's daughter Elizabeth was betrothed to the Elector Frederick, ruler of the Rhine Palatinate and one of the Protestant princes of the Empire. In 1613 the marriage took place amid luxurious festivities. Thus far, James was pursuing Henry IV's policy of alliance between the Protestant Powers. But James's ambition went further than this: his object was to effect a marriage also with a Roman Catholic state and so make England the peaceful link between the two religious systems. His first project was to marry his son Prince Henry to the Spanish Infanta. Prince Henry, however, refused to entertain the idea of a Roman Catholic wife, and the scheme hung fire until the Prince's death in November, 1612. Prince Charles, who then became heir to the throne, had no such scruples. James therefore renewed his negotiations—with what success will appear in due course.

Thirty Years' War, 1618-1648.

In 1618 the long threatened religious struggle broke out in Germany. Bohemia, in contrast to the majority of the south German states, was predominantly Protestant. Also, although its monarchy was in practice elective, for several generations the Emperor had been chosen as King of Bohemia, so that each new Emperor had come to expect his election to the Bohemian throne as a matter of course. This meant that, though most of the Bohemians had become Protestant, they always had a Roman Catholic ruler. The Emperor Matthias was old and childless, and on his death—which appeared imminent—would be succeeded by his cousin Ferdinand who was known to be a bitter enemy of Protestantism. The Protestants of Bohemia therefore determined to break from the precedent of choosing the Emperor as their King, and in 1618 they rose in arms to demand from Matthias an assurance of their rights of election. Next year Matthias died, and the Bohemian nobles, maintaining their determined policy, offered the throne to the Protestant Frederick, the Elector Palatine and the husband of James's daughter Elizabeth. Frederick, hoping for the support of his father-in-law, accepted the Crown. James, true to his policy of peaceful arbitration, refused to render any armed assistance. Worse still, the Protestants of Germany were divided among themselves, the Lutherans of the north refusing to help the Calvinist Frederick. In the *Battle of the White Hill* in November, 1620, the Imperial forces scattered the Protestants, and Frederick was driven out of Bohemia. Next year, the Roman Catholic forces overran the Palatinate and Frederick was expelled even from his hereditary dominions. This was but the opening stage in a struggle which was to involve not only the German states but all the great European countries and which, dragging on for thirty years, was to leave Germany a desert.

The policy of England towards the War was yet another

cause of friction between James and his parliaments. Parliament, reflecting the sentiment of the vast majority of the English people, was enthusiastic for active intervention, partly because the cause of Protestantism was once more at stake on the Continent and partly because the fortunes of a popular English princess, the wife of the Elector Frederick, were involved. James, on the contrary, persisting in his rôle of peacemaker, continued to try to buy out Spain—whose troops from the Netherlands had reinforced the army of the Emperor—by renewing the proposal for the marriage of Prince Charles to the Infanta. Gondomar, the Spanish ambassador in England, allowed James to deceive himself about the likelihood of the marriage, the result being that England was prevented from supporting Frederick.

Suddenly the royal policy changed. In 1623, Prince Charles and Buckingham, in order to expedite the match, travelled *incognito* to Spain. Their appearance had an effect exactly opposite to that they desired. The haughty Spanish Court was scandalized by the informal method of parleying for a royal marriage. The only condition on which the marriage would be allowed was that many favours should be allowed to the Roman Catholics in England. Finally, Charles and Buckingham, disillusioned on the whole project of a Spanish match, returned home to advocate a policy of intervention in the Thirty Years' War. Charles and Buckingham became the popular heroes of the hour: James found himself, almost without knowing how or why, declaring war and being granted supplies by Parliament (1624).

Negotiations for a marriage alliance were opened with France, and Prince Charles was betrothed to Henrietta Maria, sister of Louis XIII.

In 1624 an army was at last sent to Germany. But it consisted of such poor material and was fitted with such faulty supplies that it accomplished nothing, many thousands of the men perishing during the winter of 1624–1625.

In March, 1625, the King himself died, having been no more successful in his foreign than in his domestic relations.

The constitutional significance of James I's reign is not difficult to understand. The root question causing friction between the Stuarts and Parliament, namely, the possession of sovereignty, had been definitely raised; and most of the particular forms which that question was to take had been indicated also—disputes about the levying of taxes, the appointment of ministers, the privileges of Parliament, foreign policy, and religion. But though all these questions had been asked, none of them was answered during the reign of James I. To see what the answers were, we have to pursue the subject into the reign of his son Charles.

CHAPTER XII

CHARLES I, TILL THE OUTBREAK OF CIVIL WAR, 1625-1642

Character of Charles I.

THE character of the new King was a strange combination of different and even contradictory traits. His appearance was handsome and dignified ; his religious convictions were sincere ; and in his private life he was loyal, affectionate and courteous. Perhaps his outstanding characteristic was his self-centredness, his egoism. Believing that he was divinely appointed to the royal office, he regarded himself as possessing something of the quality of divinity. He obstinately maintained his opinions, was impervious alike to criticism and to advice, and—more serious even than that—lived a life so exclusively exalted that he was ignorant of the thoughts of others. Anything that he did to maintain his divinely royal prerogatives he regarded as justifiable, even though by the ordinary standards of morality such conduct might be grossly false. As he grew older he became more and more deceitful, until no party could rely upon his word. Events to be related will show this duplicity as the cause of Charles's troubles in the latter part of his reign.

Of statesmanship he possessed nothing, having neither the ability himself to conceive and carry out sound policy nor the discrimination to choose capable ministers whom he was willing to trust. The only man to whom he ever gave his full confidence was the Duke of Buckingham, and, as the Duke had no more statesmanship than his master,

policy during the years before Buckingham's death veered unaccountably.

A further handicap under which Charles lived was his wife. Immediately after his accession Charles married the French Princess Henrietta Maria, to whom he had been betrothed. By the secret marriage-treaty concluded between the two Courts, Charles promised to grant toleration for Roman Catholics and to lend English ships to the French King. The new Queen, brought up in the Court of an absolute king, was completely ignorant of English traditions and customs. Her influence, which grew steadily with the passage of time, and especially after Buckingham's death in 1628, was always used to encourage Charles to despotic action. Her sympathies were naturally inclined to France and explain the pro-French policy in the early part of the reign. As a Roman Catholic, she tried to obtain for her co-religionists the repeal of the penal laws under which they suffered. Also, the royal children were half-French by birth and half-Romanist by upbringing—hence the Roman Catholic Court and the pro-French policy of Charles II and James II.

I. FOREIGN AFFAIRS

The reign of James I closed with Parliament and the King agreeing to make war against Spain, and with the Duke of Buckingham enjoying a period of general popularity. The opening years of Charles I's reign form a continuation of this story; and before we trace the main theme of Charles's relations with his parliaments we shall deal with the foreign policy of the reign as a whole.

Cadiz, 1625.

James I's aim in the Thirty Years' War had been to make a marriage-alliance with Spain and so to obtain the withdrawal of the Spanish forces from Germany, thus relieving the German Protestants. Charles I and Buckingham hoped to achieve this relief by pursuing the opposite

policy, that is, by making war on Spain and so compelling her to abstain from activity in Germany.

The plan of campaign was to send an expedition against Cadiz, where they hoped to repeat the famous feat of "singeing the King of Spain's beard" and to seize the Spanish treasure-fleet as it entered the harbour. The exploit, if successful, would bring the double advantage of filling the royal exchequer independently of Parliament and of making the King and his minister popular so that Parliament would grant subsidies for the prosecution of the war.

But to repeat Drake's success needed Drake's preparations, skill and leadership. The nearest point of contact that the expedition could make with Drake was its use of some of the sails and naval stores that had done service in the Armada! The ships were rotting hulks, the crews were pressed men and criminals, the provisions were unfit for human consumption, and the leaders were incapable. The expedition landed; the soldiers marched a few miles, got hopelessly drunk and were re-embarked with difficulty; and then the only course was to make for home before complete disaster overtook them. Somehow the ships made Plymouth Sound, having frustrated everything they had been sent to achieve: the German Protestants had not been helped, the Treasury was poorer instead of richer, and Buckingham and his master were discredited in the eyes of the nation. The result was the impeachment of Buckingham in 1626.¹

Meanwhile Charles had made a show of helping the German Protestants more directly. He undertook to subsidize his uncle, King Christian IV of Denmark, so as to enable the latter to maintain armies in Germany. But as Charles never paid more than one-eighth of even the first year's subsidy, Christian's calculations were upset; he was unable to support his army, and in 1626 was decisively defeated at the Battle of Lutter. In 1629 he retired from

¹ See below, Section 2, "Second Parliament."

the War. This left the Protestants to their own resources, and their defeat seemed only a matter of time. From this they were saved by the intervention of the Swedish King, Gustavus Adolphus, one of the most remarkable soldiers of European history. During the years 1630-1632 he conducted an amazing series of campaigns all over Germany. At the Battle of Lützen in 1632 he won a notable victory, but only at the cost of his own life. Once more the Protestants seemed doomed, yet once more they were saved, though, as the sequel will show, not by a Protestant but by a Cardinal of the Roman Catholic Church—Richelieu, chief minister (1624-1642) of Louis XIII of France. To this point in the story we shall return.

War against France, 1627.

Meanwhile, Charles and Buckingham, having failed in their policy in Spain and Germany, had turned their attention to France. There Richelieu was continuing the traditional French policy of antagonism towards the Hapsburgs. If this policy was to be successful, France had to be internally strong; and Richelieu therefore set himself to remedy two sources of weakness to the Government, namely, the power of the nobles and the independent position of the Huguenots. It is the latter of these aims which is our present concern.

The centre of the Huguenots' strength was *La Rochelle*, which, by the Edict of Nantes, they were allowed to fortify, and Richelieu therefore set himself to reduce the city. To attack *La Rochelle* would formerly have been dangerous because it would have provoked English support for the Huguenots, but the marriage of Henrietta Maria to Charles I seemed to have removed this possibility. Indeed, the eight ships which Charles lent to Louis in fulfilment of the marriage treaty had in 1625 been used by Richelieu in his siege of the town.

The use of English ships against Protestants roused such a storm of indignation throughout England that Buck-

ingham tried to remove his unpopularity by himself leading an expedition to relieve La Rochelle. His expeditionary force was as ill-fitted as that of 1625: the contingents raised by the Lord-Lieutenants were composed of criminals and ne'er-do-wells who knew nothing of the use of arms and were not amenable to discipline. In 1627, after a fortnight's drilling, this motley collection of undesirables was put on board ship and sent to the Island of Rhé, opposite La Rochelle, which was to serve as a base of operations. Buckingham showed considerable ability as a commander. That he managed to achieve anything with the rabble at his disposal was a tribute to his energetic courage. But the lack of effective preparation and organization at home made success impossible. A relieving fleet, bringing reinforcements from England, never reached Rhé, and the French managed to provision the fort on the island—neither of which events was the fault of Buckingham. At the end of three months he decided to withdraw: while the embarkation was in progress, the French launched an attack in which the English lost over twelve hundred men.

The failure at La Rochelle brought upon Buckingham universal hatred. The expedition which was to have re-established the King's credit with the nation and to have persuaded Parliament to grant ample supplies had had the opposite effect. Parliament had to be summoned in 1628, but its great concern was the impeachment of Buckingham, and violent quarrels ensued between Charles and the Commons.

Buckingham Assassinated, 1628.

These quarrels were fated never to be fought out: Buckingham was planning a second expedition to La Rochelle when, in August, 1628, he was stabbed to the heart by an officer, John Felton, who was inspired partly by patriotic motives and partly by a grievance under which hundreds of officers and men laboured, namely, that after

the campaign he had been demobilized without receiving back pay and without any means of support. The deed was hailed with delirious joy throughout the kingdom: Felton was regarded as a national hero, his health was toasted, and his name formed the refrain of popular songs.

The 1628 expedition sailed to La Rochelle as projected but ended even more disgracefully than its predecessor. Richelieu had thrown up earthworks on land and a great mole across the harbour, so that the besieging lines were almost impregnable; and the English forces, when they saw the impossibility of relieving the Huguenots, refused to fight. Under the very eyes of the mutinous English fleet La Rochelle surrendered, whereupon the ships returned home. Never, at any other time in the annals of the English navy, did its credit reach so low a level. And never again did Charles I meddle with foreign affairs. Officially England and France remained at war until 1629 when peace was formally declared, but after 1628 the King was occupied exclusively by his own troubles with Parliament.

Close of Thirty Years' War.

At this point it is convenient to review the latter stages of the Thirty Years' War in Germany, even though England played no part in them. We said that after the death of Gustavus Adolphus at Lützen in 1632 the Protestants were saved by Richelieu. The latter's reason for intervention was solely political. He realized that the surest way to embarrass his enemy the Hapsburg Emperor was to strengthen the Protestant revolt. In 1635 French forces were sent into Germany, and during several years the brilliance of the French Generals Condé and Turenne ensured a series of successes. Yet there never was any likelihood of a decisive victory for either side. The War continued so long that its originators died. Further, the intervention of Roman Catholic France on the side of the Protestants showed that the War had ceased to have any

distinctively religious meaning and had become instead a scramble for political power by the great States of Europe. In their interests, Germany was plundered and devastated until its towns were depopulated and its countryside was reduced to a desert.

Through sheer exhaustion the combatants ceased to fight, and at last in 1648 the *Peace of Westphalia* was signed. All the details of its provisions, consisting of religious agreements and territorial adjustments in which England was not directly involved, need not concern us. Two facts were to be significant for the future. First, Protestantism was not crushed out, and hence the Empire lost even the semblance of united subjection to an Emperor that was Holy and Roman. Second, among the territorial provisions of the Treaty was one which gave Lower Alsace to France: this Province was to form a base for the military operations of Louis XIV and a cause of contention between France and Germany during the following two and a half centuries.

The Treaty of Westphalia has carried us to within one year of the execution of Charles I, and we must now return to the story of his relations with Parliament.

2. THREE PARLIAMENTS, 1625-1629

Outline of the Reign.

The outline of parliamentary history under Charles I is clear-cut. Between 1625 and 1629 there were three Parliaments, each of which quarrelled with the King over one or more of the old matters of dispute—taxes, ministers, freedom of speech, religion, foreign affairs—and each of which was consequently dissolved before the issue had been settled. Then for eleven years there was no Parliament, and the King managed to obtain supplies by irregular means. But though arbitrary taxation might yield enough to defray the normal royal expenses, any unusually heavy expenses would need recourse to Parliament. This was

exactly what happened. In 1640 the Scots, for reasons which will appear below, invaded the north of England, and Charles had to summon another Parliament. Immediately, the old quarrels were renewed, and Parliament was dismissed and was accordingly known as the Short Parliament. This, however, did not furnish the King with supplies, and before the year was out he had called yet another Parliament which, because it was the only legal Parliament throughout the Commonwealth and was not formally dissolved until 1660, is called the Long Parliament.

The history of Parliament under Charles I thus reduces itself, when tabulated, as follows :

1625-1629. Three Parliaments.

1629-1640. No Parliament.

1640 Short Parliament, and the meeting of the
 Long Parliament.

First Parliament, June-August, 1625.

The temper in which Parliament faced the new reign was accurately reflected in its grant to the King of Tunnage and Poundage *for one year only*. This was a complete breach from every recent precedent. The King rightly expected that these customs duties would be granted to him for life as they had been to his predecessors during a couple of centuries and more. Parliament was going out of its way to cause ill-feeling between itself and Charles before the latter had had a chance to show what attitude he would adopt. But though Parliament was wrong in principle, the reasons for its action are easy to understand : not Charles but Buckingham was the real object of Parliament's distrust, for the minister's control over the King was known to be complete, and Buckingham openly flouted Parliament. The latter therefore felt that its only safe course was to use its power of the purse in order to compel the King to summon Parliament again before the expiration of twelve months and so to ensure his dependence. In fact, the only results were that the relationship between

King and Parliament became embittered from the outset of the reign and that Charles continued to levy not only Tunnage and Poundage but also impositions and other forms of taxation without any reference to Parliament.

The final clash was due to the Commons' adverse criticism of the lending of ships to Richelieu for use against the Huguenots, and to the beginnings of a movement to impeach Buckingham. Charles and Buckingham were convinced that the Commons would grant no further supplies except on their own terms, and in August Parliament was dissolved.

In view of subsequent events, it is worth noticing that the Commons' leaders in opposition to the King had been John Pym, Sir Edward Coke (both of whom had been imprisoned by James I, who had also deprived Coke of his position of Chief Justice because Coke refused to relinquish his claim that the judges should be independent of royal dictation) and Sir Thomas Wentworth.

Second Parliament, February–June, 1626.

The dissolution was followed by the Cadiz expedition, the success of which was to have established royal prestige and to have made Parliament willing to vote substantial grants. The failure of that expedition—the possibility of which neither Charles nor Buckingham seems to have anticipated—was as costly as its success would have been and rendered parliamentary supplies imperative, but it also made Parliament unwilling to trust the King with more money.

As soon as Parliament met in 1626 it insisted upon redress of grievances before grants and began an inquiry into the conduct of Buckingham. Charles refused to allow this inquiry to proceed, but the Commons, not to be so easily baulked, returned answer "that it hath been the ancient, constant and undoubted right and usage of Parliaments, to question and complain of all persons, of what degree soever, found grievous to the commonwealth

in abusing the power and trust committed to them by their sovereign". This they followed up by a formal impeachment of Buckingham. Charles had prevented the election of Coke and Wentworth to the second Parliament by having them appointed as sheriffs of their counties. The leader in the attack, therefore, was the Cornishman, Sir John Eliot, who was a mighty orator and a man of dauntless courage. Charles tried to hold up the proceedings by imprisoning Eliot, but the only effect was to inflame the temper of the Commons who insisted upon their leader's release, and Charles was forced to comply. Parliament was evidently determined upon the fall of the favourite, and the only way in which Charles could save him was by dissolving Parliament, which he did in June, 1626.

The Five Knights' Case, 1627.

The King now had to solve the problem of finding systematic methods of raising large sums of money. He continued to levy Tunnage and Poundage and impositions; he raised a forced loan, and those who refused to pay were either imprisoned or sent into the army or navy (the prisoners included Wentworth and Eliot), and where resistance was general the whole district was placed under martial law; and he billeted soldiers on private citizens, often as a means of persuading the latter to pay the loan.

Five of those who were imprisoned for refusal to contribute to the forced loan demanded a writ of Habeas Corpus. This was in accordance with a privilege, dating back to the thirteenth century, whereby any man who was imprisoned could obtain, or his friends could obtain for him, a writ from the Court of King's Bench compelling the gaoler to "have his body" into court for trial, a process which prevented a man's being imprisoned for an indefinite period at the pleasure of the monarch, as was common in many Continental countries—in France, for example, until the Revolution of 1789. The writ issued by the gaoler of the Five Knights showed that they were

detained "by special command of the King", and, as a test case, the claims of one of the prisoners, named Darnell—hence the incident is commonly known as "Darnell's Case"—was argued in court. The judges held that the King had power to imprison without showing the cause. Henceforward those from whom the King demanded money were at his mercy.

In 1627 war against France led to the La Rochelle expedition, the failure of which again left Charles with no alternative to calling another Parliament for further supplies.

Third Parliament, March, 1628–March, 1629.

The all-important event of its first session was the passing of the *Petition of Right*, 1628, which may be summarized as forbidding the following four practices:

1. The raising of a tax or loan without Parliament's consent.
2. Imprisonment without the cause being shown.
3. The billeting of soldiers or sailors on private citizens.
4. Trials by martial law in time of peace.

After trying by every expedient to avoid signing the *Petition*, Charles at last gave his consent. Though his subsequent conduct shows that he had no intention of keeping his word, the *Petition* registers a great step in the struggle, and the document itself rightly ranks with *Magna Carta* (1215) and the *Bill of Rights* (1689) as a charter of English liberties. In return for the King's consent, Parliament voted him £350,000 for the conduct of the French war.

In June, 1628, Parliament stood prorogued, and between its first and second sessions two notable events took place. The first was that Sir Thomas Wentworth became a supporter of the King. Wentworth's position will be discussed in the following section: here we may notice that his opposition had been to Buckingham rather than to Charles, and he came gradually to regard the Commons as being

too extreme in their demands. Second, the murder of Buckingham in August, 1628, removed one of the main immediate causes of contention between King and Commons.

The second session of the third Parliament opened in January, 1629. Already Charles had violated the Petition of Right by imposing unauthorized taxes, and the Commons began to raise the question. Charles tried to forestall them by dissolving Parliament, and the Speaker, according to private instructions received from the King, rose from his Chair as a sign that the sitting was at an end. But he was not quick enough: the door of the Commons was locked, two Members rushed to hold down the Speaker by force in his Chair, and, amid tense excitement, the House declared that any man who advised the King to levy Tunnage and Poundage without Parliament's consent or who paid such unauthorized duties or who brought in innovations in religion, was an enemy of the State. The resolutions passed, the House retired and the King dissolved Parliament. The principal actors in the scene, Eliot, Holles, Strode, and Valentine, were sent to the Tower. There, as the result of the privations of imprisonment, Eliot died in 1632, and there his fellow-prisoners (except Holles) remained until 1640.

The first stage in the reign was over. The King was now to try to rule without the impediment of a Parliament.

3. RULE WITHOUT PARLIAMENT, 1629-1640

Finance.

Success or failure in arbitrary government would depend in the last resort upon the King's ability to meet his expenses. For this purpose two steps were necessary, namely, economy of outgoings and security of income.

The first necessity for economy was the cessation of war. Peace was made with France in 1629 by the Treaty of

Susa, and with Spain in 1630 by the Treaty of Madrid. Further, Charles definitely abandoned the cause of his brother-in-law the Elector Palatine.

The raising of regular supplies of money was less easy of solution. Several expedients were resorted to, in all of which the King claimed to be keeping within his legal rights. *Tunnage and Poundage* continued to be levied, the argument being that the King had the right to control trade. *Monopolies* were again granted, but the letter of the 1624 Statute was observed by granting them to companies instead of to individuals. Ancient and obsolete laws were raked up in order to afford pretexts for replenishing the royal exchequer. For example, under the feudal system *forest lands* (that is, waste lands) were at the King's disposal: much of these open spaces had, during the centuries, been appropriated by neighbouring landowners whose successors were now allowed to retain their holdings only on the payment of enormous fines. Another ancient law had enjoined that every man holding land to the value of at least £40 a year should take up a knighthood: this Statute also had fallen into desuetude, and upon all those coming within its provisions—a number greatly increased by the recent fall in the value of money—*Distraint of Knighthood* was levied, in other words, heavy fines were imposed. Of the financial methods used by Charles, *Ship Money* was the most notable, not because it was any more irregular in itself but because the King's right to levy it was challenged, and so the matter became a test case.

Ship Money.

From Anglo-Saxon times onwards until the establishment of a royal navy, the King had raised a fleet in time of war by obtaining vessels from seaport towns or by levying ship money in lieu of ships. Under the Tudors, the necessity for ship money had ceased because a royal navy had been built and maintained, and at times of urgent danger—for example, in the Armada year—private ship-owners had

gladly loaned their vessels. But James I had allowed the navy to decay almost out of existence, and what ships and stores remained were rotten. The effects were that England ceased to count in international affairs and the Algerian corsairs, swarming in the Channel, played havoc with English shipping and even ravaged the coasts. Charles determined to rebuild the royal navy. To call a Parliament to provide the necessary funds would lead to a repetition of the former disputes, and he therefore determined to levy the ancient tax.

In 1634 the coastal towns and counties were required to pay ship money, and grudgingly they did so. The King then argued that, as the whole nation benefited by an efficient navy, the whole nation should contribute towards its upkeep: in 1635 the tax was collected also from inland towns and counties which likewise grudgingly paid, and again in 1636. But in 1637, *John Hampden*, a squire of Buckinghamshire, refused to pay. His case was tried before twelve judges in the Exchequer Chamber. Hampden did not complain of the amount demanded or of the manner in which the money was spent, for Charles had honestly used the tax in order to improve the fleet so that the Channel was cleared of the corsairs. His plea was that taxation not sanctioned by Parliament was illegal. Of the twelve judges, seven gave their opinion that in time of danger the King had the right to impose taxation for naval purposes, and the other five favoured Hampden. Thus, though the King had won his case, he had won it by the *smallest possible majority* even of his own judges, and the nation hailed the result as a triumph. Hampden's case was one of the critical events in the widening breach between King and people.

Arbitrary Courts.

In the exercise of his prerogatives, Charles relied upon two main sets of instruments, namely, three arbitrary courts and three loyal ministers.

The *Star Chamber* was the most important of the courts. We have seen that under Henry VII this Court was a powerful instrument for reducing the power of the disorderly barons and hence for encouraging the local courts all over England to administer even-handed justice.¹ Wolsey also used the Court for similar purposes, and the Star Chamber was one of the chief means whereby he exerted his personal power. The Stuarts found in the Star Chamber an instrument ready to hand for their own aggrandizement, and any person who refused to acquiesce in their unconstitutional procedure—for example, by refusing to contribute to forced loans—was liable to be brought before the Star Chamber which could inflict heavy fines on all alike. In effect, the Star Chamber, founded and used by Henry VII for securing justice, became an instrument of royal oppression. The Court had outlived its usefulness, and one of the objects of the parliamentary leaders was its abolition.

The second of the arbitrary courts was the *Council of the North*, established by Henry VIII in 1537 after the Pilgrimage of Grace.² As one of the channels of the jurisdiction of Wentworth, we shall refer to it below.

The *High Commission Court*, which was the third of the arbitrary courts, had been established by Elizabeth under the authority of the Act of Supremacy.³ This also will be referred to as the instrument of Archbishop Laud's persecution of the Puritans.

Lord Treasurer, Weston.

Of the ministers who served Charles I during the eleven non-parliamentary years, the least known but by no means the least necessary was Weston, the Lord Treasurer from 1630 till 1635. Weston was an exceptionally able financier. During his period of office he straightened out the King's exchequer and was the inspirer of the expedients whereby

¹ Chapter II, Section 2.

² Chapter IV, Section 4.

³ Chapter VII, Section 3.

the King raised supplies without Parliament's consent yet in such a way as to receive the sanction of the law-courts. It is safe to say that but for Weston's financial administration Charles would have been unable to maintain his arbitrary government for eleven years.

Thomas Wentworth, Lord Strafford.

The pillar of Charles's personal rule was Sir Thomas Wentworth. We have seen that in the opening stages of the quarrel with Charles, Wentworth had been one of the prominent leaders of Parliament. That position he maintained until 1628. But his attitude had always been based upon principles other than those of Pym and Eliot. These last were staunch believers in the right of Parliament to govern the country. This, however, was a new claim: hitherto, the King had ruled with the consent of Parliament. Wentworth stood for this traditional system of government. He had no faith in the ability of untrained, non-descript representatives of landowners in town and village to manage the business of State. His political ideal was a strong king ruling justly in the interests of the State, an ideal almost exactly realized in the person of Elizabeth. Another factor which tended to alienate Wentworth from the other critics of Charles was that whereas they were mainly Puritans he adhered to the High Church party.

In the early years of Charles I, Wentworth had supported the parliamentary opposition because the exercise of the royal prerogatives was being guided by Buckingham whom he thoroughly distrusted. But in 1628 two factors modified his attitude. First, early in June the Petition of Right received the King's assent. The Petition was to no small extent the handiwork of Wentworth, but the extremist spirit shown during and after the passage of that measure converted him to the view that by restricting the King's power to a point that would render efficient government impossible, it redressed the balance too heavily on the other

side. Second, Buckingham was concentrating on the Rochelle expeditions and therefore had a less immediate effect on Charles's domestic policy. In July, 1628, therefore, he left the side of Parliament and joined that of the King. His adhesion to the King was rendered complete when Buckingham was murdered in August, 1628, after which date it was upon the advice of Wentworth that Charles principally relied. For this transfer of loyalty Wentworth was bitterly hated by his former associates who denounced him as a traitor willing to sacrifice his honour for royal favour. Though this judgment was natural, it was unjust: Wentworth did not change his principles, but, with varying circumstances, he changed his means of striving for them.

The first post assigned to him by the King was that of President of the Council of the North. The north of England was then wild and much less civilized than the south, and Wentworth had the opportunity of showing his governmental capacity. His vigorous measures made the Council, both in the scope of its operations and in its methods, a replica of the Star Chamber Court and so brought the influence of the central government to bear directly upon the six northern counties.

So successful was Wentworth's rule that in 1632 he was made also Lord Deputy of Ireland. At the time of Wentworth's accession to the Deputyship, Ireland was distraught with both political and religious strife, and there seemed no one capable of dealing with the situation. His advent brought a complete change. Wentworth's motto was "Thorough", and that motto he began rigorously to practise. He raised an army and officered it with Protestants; he suppressed nonconformity with the High Church system of Laud; and he encouraged the Ulster Protestants by introducing the linen industry among them. Stern, and generally just, efficiency was the mark of his rule; for the first time in history Ireland was peaceable and the lives of its private citizens were secure. Went-

worth's government was an example of the good order that a strong determined man could produce in spite of the most conflicting circumstances.

So complete was the confidence which Charles learned to place in the Lord Deputy that in 1640, when the parliamentary opposition was reaching its climax, Wentworth was recalled from Ireland, given the title of Earl of Strafford and made the King's chief minister. Could he repeat in England the success which he had won in Ireland? Upon the answer to that question hung the fate of the Stuarts and of the nation. Before we can answer it, we have to retrace our steps to see what were the circumstances which produced the 1640 crisis. For those circumstances the third of Charles I's notable ministers, Archbishop Laud, was chiefly responsible.

Archbishop Laud.

Laud was the leading figure among the High Church party who stood for the maintenance of Church ritual as it had been before the Reformation, though supporting the ecclesiastical supremacy of the King and services in English. This system necessarily involved a recognition of the authority of the King and of the bishops, and hence was directly contrary to the political and religious tenets of the Puritans, who among all classes of the people were increasing in numbers and influence. Laud was an able and efficient man, sharing with Wentworth the motto "Thorough". But his outlook was narrow and his mind was incapable of appreciating the point of view and the convictions of other people. In 1628 he was made Bishop of London, and there he began to put his theories into practice. His appointment to Canterbury in 1633 gave him the opportunity of trying to enforce them throughout the kingdom. Laud's efforts were in two directions, namely, to strengthen the Church by cleansing it of disorderly practices and people, and to suppress Puritanism.

He arranged for the visitation, by himself or his repre-

sentative, of every parish in the Province of Canterbury. Inquiry was made into the work of every incumbent, the manner of his life, the regularity of church services, the condition of church fabric, and the like. Communion Tables were removed from the centre of the church, where they had been placed in consequence of the Reformation, and were carried to the east end and were railed off. Elaborate vestments, similar to those in use before the Reformation, had to be worn by officiating clergy. A typical piece of Laud's work was connected with St. Paul's Cathedral which had been a meeting-place for merchants who did their business there and for private persons who used it as a promenade ground. Laud changed all this. He forbade the Cathedral to be used for any but religious purposes. Also the clergy whose lives did not accord with the moral standard which their position demanded, and clergy who disobeyed Laud's injunctions, were brought before the Court of High Commission, of which the Archbishop was the President, and were severely punished. Laud secured the appointment of those clergy who shared his High Church views, and hence, as livings and sees fell vacant, the Church gradually adopted the tone of the Primate.

Many of these innovations were extremely obnoxious to the Puritans. The railing-off of the Communion Table seemed to them to be changing the Sacrament of Holy Communion back to the Roman Catholic Mass. The restoration of elaborate vestments supported this view; so did the increasing influence at Court of Queen Henrietta Maria and her Roman Catholic advisers and friends. The innovation of Laud which particularly incensed the Puritans was his encouragement of Sunday sports. In this also he was reverting to a pre-Reformation practice, for during the Middle Ages attendance at Mass in the early part of Sunday had been followed by amusements during the remainder of the day. In 1633 Charles, under Laud's advice, issued the "Book of Sports" enjoining that every

person should take part in Sunday amusements, and this, to the Puritans, was a sinful profanation of the Lord's Day.

Puritans who resisted or criticized the Laudian innovations were subjected to severe punishments imposed by the Courts of High Commission and Star Chamber. In 1633 a lawyer named Prynne published a book called *Histrion-mastix*, that is the *Actor's Scourge*, in which he sharply criticized stage-plays and actors, and his criticism was supposed to have been directed against the Queen who took part in plays at Court. The Star Chamber condemned him to a heavy fine, to be imprisoned perpetually and to have his ears cut off in the pillory. Nothing daunted, Prynne spent his imprisonment in secretly writing and circulating attacks on the bishops. In June, 1637, he was therefore again pilloried and subjected to the severing of the remaining stumps of his ears. A huge crowd surged into Palace Yard to watch the horrible operation and uttered a mighty groan of execration when it took place. Many other Puritans suffered in the same sort of way as Prynne did and aroused similarly general indignation against Laud and against the King who allowed the Archbishop's proceedings. Large numbers of moderate Churchmen, not hitherto reckoned as Puritans, became alienated by what appeared to them—though their judgment was entirely wrong in this matter—as Laud's Romanizing intentions.

4. THE BISHOPS' WARS, 1639 AND 1640

Laud in Scotland.

It would have been well for Laud and for the King if they had heeded the rumblings of opposition. Unfortunately for both of them, Laud tried to force his High Church practices also upon the Scots, who retaliated so forcibly as to throw Charles once more on the mercy of a parliament.

In 1633 Charles and Laud had together visited Scotland, and Laud was appointed as Head of the Scottish Church. He at once tried to impose upon the Scots ecclesiastical changes similar to those he was enforcing in England. In order to carry out his will, the system of bishops (first introduced by James I) was extended. This showed a thorough ignorance of the church-system and the religious convictions of the Scots: Charles I, it should be noted, was as complete a stranger to Scotland as his father had been to England. The Presbyterian Church was governed democratically by a system of synods and assemblies of which laymen as well as ministers were members. Indeed, the General Assembly of the Church was a representative body, and in the eyes of the people it corresponded to the House of Commons in England. The General Assembly, accurately reflecting the temper of the people, resisted the further imposition of bishops upon their Church and the other innovations. But Laud was blindly obdurate. In 1637 he went so far as to issue for use in Scotland a revised edition of the English Prayer Book. The result was uproarious protests wherever the clergy attempted to use the book. In St. Giles' Cathedral, Edinburgh, for example, a woman hurled a stool at the head of the Dean who was reading the service.

The *National Covenant* of 1638 was the expression of the universal uproar. Men of all ranks and diverse views hurried to sign their promise to safeguard Presbyterianism. Now at last Charles became alarmed. His conduct in the crisis was an accurate forecast of the double-dealing which was to characterize the remainder of his life. He alternated between threatening and cajolery; the one point in which he would not yield was the new Prayer Book. In order to gain time he proposed a special meeting of the General Assembly to consider the position. The Assembly met in November, 1638, but its actions were other than Charles hoped. It abolished Episcopacy, renewed the Covenant, and raised an army which it placed under

Alexander Leslie, who had learned his fighting in long campaigns under Gustavus Adolphus.

First Bishops' War, 1639.

Leslie took up a strong position overlooking Berwick and awaited Charles. The ensuing events are known as the Bishops' War because the maintenance of Episcopacy in Scotland was the chief cause at issue. Charles marched north, but the money at his disposal was too meagre to allow of his raising an effective army. Consequently he was obliged to agree to the *Pacification of Berwick* (June, 1639), by the terms of which another General Assembly was to meet.

Charles was as insincere in this truce as he had been in the previous year. His only object was to gain time ; but as the New Assembly reiterated yet more strongly the demands of its predecessor, he reaped no advantage. The policy which the King intended to follow was shown clearly by his next summoning Wentworth from Ireland. If Wentworth obeyed the summons, the bitterness of Parliament's attack would certainly be concentrated upon him ; but Charles promised him security, and Wentworth came. He was created Earl of Strafford, and from that moment until his death a few months later he was the guide and the mainstay of the royal policy.

Money was once more the crucial problem ; and the only means by which to obtain a supply sufficient to raise an army against the Scots was by calling a Parliament. This was the advice Wentworth gave. In so doing, Wentworth seems to have relied upon the national hatred that would be aroused by a Scottish invasion. But also his judgment was vitiated by his long absence in Ireland ; that is, he believed that strong, determined rule would be as effective in disciplining the English people and in restoring over them the supremacy of the King as it had been in Ireland.

Short Parliament, April–May, 1640.

The fourth Parliament of the reign met in April, 1640. The temper of the Members showed at the outset that Wentworth had wrongly gauged the situation. The King's demand for subsidies was met by a refusal to grant any supplies until the nation's grievances had been redressed. Charles then resorted to bargaining: he offered to renounce ship money in return for certain parliamentary supplies; but the Commons, knowing that to agree to this would be to throw away their most potent weapon and to acknowledge by implication that Charles's imposition of ship-money was legal, stubbornly refused. Anger on both sides was rising, and, as neither side would budge, progress was impossible. On 5th May, 1640, Parliament was dissolved when only three weeks old—hence its name of the Short Parliament.

Though nothing tangible resulted from its brief meeting, the Short Parliament had changed the situation in three respects. First, Parliament had become the focus of the anti-royalist feeling in the nation; and the general support given to the resistance to arbitrary government stimulated that resistance throughout the country. Second, Pym had again shown himself to be a fearless opponent of the King and a cogent exponent of the popular cause; henceforward he was the generally acknowledged leader of the Commons. Third, the attitude of England, as reflected in Parliament, encouraged the Scots to pursue their active defence of Presbyterianism.

Second Bishops' War, 1640.

In August, 1640, the Scottish army crossed the Tweed, and so began the Second Bishops' War. Meanwhile Wentworth had been trying to raise and train an English army. He looked fondly at the Irish army he had left behind him and which, as he reminded Charles, might be used "to subdue this kingdom"; but to bring that army over

would have provoked more trouble than it allayed, and the only force at his disposal to send northward was a raw rabble which Leslie smashed and routed contemptuously at Newburn-on-Tyne. The Scots then seized Newcastle and proceeded to occupy the northern counties of England.

Some settlement between the King and the Scots became imperative. Charles again tried to temporize and to avoid calling a Parliament by calling instead a *Council of Peers* at York. This was, in effect, a revival of the Great Council which had not met since the development of Parliament some three centuries earlier. The Council of Peers, disclaiming any legal power, urged the King to summon a Parliament. Its immediate usefulness was that it negotiated with the Scots the *Treaty of Ripon* (October, 1640), whereby the Scots were to be paid £850 a day to cover their expenses and were to hold Durham and Northumberland as security for the payment, and an English Parliament was to meet to arrange a final settlement of the Scottish grievances. On 3rd November the fifth Parliament of the reign met, and so brought to an end the eleven years of arbitrary rule.

5. LONG PARLIAMENT, 1640-1642

Character of the Parliament.

This Parliament, though severely curtailed and even suspended by Cromwell, was never legally dissolved until the Restoration of 1660. The great majority of its Members were Puritans, some of them being country gentry and others lawyers and merchants from the towns. In one respect the Puritans were all united: the King's power must be limited and the King be compelled to rule according to a constitution. But time was to show that in religious matters there were divisions among them which separated the Puritan sections from one another nearly as sharply as from their common enemies the High Churchmen.

The most numerous body of Puritans was that of the Presbyterians who desired to abolish Episcopacy and to substitute an ecclesiastical system similar to that which obtained in Scotland. The other section was that of the Independents (whom we have met as Brownists under Elizabeth), who were opposed to any form of national church and were generally in favour of toleration, though many of them would not have granted toleration to Roman Catholics: numerically they were weak at first, but later the Parliamentary army was predominantly Independent and so they had a determining influence on the trend of affairs.

The first session of the new Parliament was occupied with removing the men who were regarded as the King's evil advisers, redressing past grievances, and preventing a repetition of similar ones in the future.

Attainder of Strafford.

The man upon whom Parliament expended the full venom of its hatred was Strafford. Within a week of the meeting of Parliament, the Commons had passed a motion for his impeachment and he had been placed under arrest. During the impeachment, which was opened in March, 1641, in Westminster Hall, Pym and Hampden led the attack. But though the Commons were convinced that Strafford was the inspirer and supporter of Charles's arbitrary government, to prove him guilty of treason was not easy, for treason is conspiracy against the King. Such a charge was incompatible with Strafford's notorious friendship with Charles. Pym relied upon two arguments: first, that treason was an offence against the King not as an individual but as the representative of the State; second, that Strafford's advice to bring over the Irish army in order "to subdue this kingdom" was treachery to the State. But the first of those contentions was too specious to carry weight in a court of law (which was what the House of Lords constituted in an impeachment trial);

and the phrase complained of in the second was held by Strafford to have referred to rebellious Scotland and not to England, and though this could not be proved neither could it be disproved. The majority of the Commons grew convinced that the House of Lords would not carry an impeachment on such slender evidence, and a failure would make the King and his triumphant minister more powerful than ever. Hence in April the Commons dropped the process of impeachment—in spite of the opposition of Pym and Hampden who were confident of securing the verdict—and substituted a Bill of Attainder.

Such a Bill declared merely that the person concerned had been guilty of treason, no legal proof of the fact being stated, and, like any other Bill, had to be passed through its various stages in the Commons and Lords and to receive the royal assent. The measure quickly passed through both Houses and was presented to the King for signature. Charles was in an invidious dilemma. He had pledged his kingly word to Wentworth to protect him; if Wentworth had ignored that promise and had remained in Ireland he would still have been safe. On the other hand a huge mob of Londoners was surging round the Palace windows howling for the death of "Black Tom the Tyrant". Through a night and a day Charles dallied with the decision and with whatever conscience he had, and then at length he signed the Bill. On 12th May Strafford was executed on Tower Hill.

The complexity of the King's position is easy to understand. If he had refused to sanction the Bill the anger of the people might have swept him away with the minister. Yet in signing he brought about the end of the system of arbitrary government of which Strafford had been the bulwark and which Charles was trying desperately to maintain, and he lost the support of many who could not respect a King who put his safety before his honour. Strafford's comment when he heard the King's decision aptly summarized the situation: "Put not your trust in princes."

Laud Impeached.

As Strafford went on his way to execution two hands were stretched through the grating of a prison cell: they were the hands of Archbishop Laud who, having himself been arrested and impeached in December, 1640, was pronouncing a benediction upon his friend. Laud was not feared as Strafford had been, and the Commons, engrossed with the crowded business of the session, did not trouble to proceed with his impeachment. He remained in the Tower and was not beheaded until 1645.

Another early action of the Long Parliament had been the release of Prynne, Strode, Valentine and others who had been imprisoned by the Star Chamber.

Legislation, 1640-1642.

By a series of Acts the Parliament tried to secure itself against the future arbitrariness of Charles. The *Triennial Act* of February, 1641, declared that Parliament must meet at least once every three years and it provided machinery for the summoning of a representative assembly if the King failed to carry out the Act, such an assembly to be a legal Parliament. This would prevent a repetition of an eleven-year period without a parliament.

To counteract the King's keeping the letter of the Triennial Act but, by an immediate dissolution, violating its spirit, the *Own Consent Act* was passed in May, 1641. By its terms, the Parliament which passed it could not be dissolved without its own consent, thus making another Short Parliament impossible.

The levying of taxes and ship money without Parliament's consent was declared to be illegal, and the three Courts of Star Chamber, High Commission, and the Council of the North were abolished.

The first serious rift in the Puritan ranks came with the introduction of an ecclesiastical measure, also in May. This was the *Root and Branch Bill* which provided for the

abolition of the episcopal system of Church government. Fierce debates took place on the proposal. The majority, led again by Pym and Hampden, supported the Bill, but an influential minority of moderates, following Lord Falkland and Edward Hyde, opposed it; and when agreement was seen to be impossible, the Bill was dropped. The division thus revealed in the Puritan ranks was ominous of future developments. The moderates, believing that the execution of Strafford and the fall of Laud had made both political and religious liberty sufficiently secure, began to side with the King and to favour a thoroughly Protestant (that is, non-Laudian) episcopal Church.

During the Parliamentary recess of September and October, 1641, there took place the terrible massacres of Ulster Protestants. These were due to the bitterness produced among the Roman Catholics by Wentworth's oppressive government and by the disorder consequent upon his withdrawal. The sympathy of the Puritans with the Irish Protestants and the Roman Catholicism of the Queen's Court led to Charles being associated in the popular mind with the atrocities, though in reality he cannot have had any responsibility for them. Hence, when Parliament re-assembled, the opposition of the extremists had hardened. The King's cause had at the same time been strengthened by the adhesion of the moderate group under Hyde, and so the division between the future "Parliamentarians" and "Royalists" was beginning to become clear.

The first trial of strength was over the *Grand Remonstrance* introduced in November, 1641. Pym's intention was to stem the tide, which was running in the King's favour, by advertising Charles's malpractices. The Remonstrance therefore consisted of a list of Charles's illegal acts and of the remedies proposed by his opponents. These proposals included one that ministers of State should be approved by the House of Commons and another that religious reforms should be carried out by a synod of

divines. The debate on the Remonstrance was fierce and long. Finally it passed the Commons with a majority of only eleven votes.

The Five Members.

The division between the parties was evidently growing sharper, and the reaction in favour of the King seemed to be spreading. Charles judged that his best plan was to accelerate this movement by seizing the opposition leaders. To this action he was urged by the Queen: when the suggestion of arresting them in their seats in the Commons was mooted, she is reputed to have bidden the King: "Go, you coward, and pull out those rogues by the ears, or never see my face more." On 4th January, 1642, Charles went down to the House, accompanied by a guard of four hundred soldiers. The latter watched the doors while the King strode to the Speaker's Chair and looked round at the faces of the standing Members. But he was too late: two hours earlier, word of the King's intentions had secretly reached the House, and Pym, Hampden, Hollis, Haselrig and Strode—all of whom Charles had impeached on the previous day—had been hastily sent by water into the city, where they lay hidden. The King, failing to see his quarry, exclaimed "The birds have flown" and, turning to the Speaker, inquired where they were. Thereupon Speaker Lenthall made his famous reply: "May it please Your Majesty, I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak, but as this House will direct me." Charles, baffled, made towards the door, and, as he went, the Members gave vent to their feelings in cries of "Privilege, privilege." For Charles had not only acted contrary to precedent in promoting an impeachment—that being the right of the Commons—but, in entering the House of Commons, had violated an historic privilege, for no King was (or is) allowed to cross its threshold. Charles had tried a last desperate throw and had failed, thereby revealing his own weakness and challenging his enemies

to press forward their attack. The outbreak of war was only a question of time.

Preparations for War, January–August, 1642.

On 10th January, Charles left London (which he next entered as a prisoner seven years later) in order to rally his followers in the counties ; and in February the Queen crossed to the Continent, taking with her the Crown jewels to try to collect money for munitions of war.

By the *Bishops' Act* of February, bishops were excluded from the House of Lords. To this, Charles gave his assent ; but when a *Militia Bill*, which proposed to withdraw from the King the control over the militia that was being raised to suppress the Irish insurrection, he refused his signature. Parliament therefore illegally issued ordinances to do what the Militia Act would have done, and the King, equally illegally, raised troops by Commissions of Array.

In April, Charles tried to enter Hull where was a store of arms and ammunition which was under the command of Sir John Hotham. Parliament ordered Hotham to refuse the King admission, and Charles had to retire. His efforts to secure the fleet were equally unsuccessful : the men, who had suffered the general neglect of the navy, put themselves and the ships at the service of Parliament.

In June, Parliament presented to the King *Nineteen Propositions* which would have assured to Parliament the control over every section of State administration—political, ecclesiastical, judicial, military, both domestic and foreign. To these also the King naturally refused his assent. In July, Parliament appointed the Earl of Essex—son of Elizabeth's Essex—as Captain-General of its forces. On 22nd August the King, having moved southward from York, flew his standard from the castle at Nottingham. The Civil War had begun.

CHAPTER XIII

THE CIVIL WAR, 1642-1649

I. CHARACTERISTICS OF THE WAR

A War of Principles.

THE English Civil War of the seventeenth century is unlike almost every war which history records in that it was fought not from motives of national or personal selfishness but for high political and religious principles. Even Charles I was not an exception to this generalization: though he was fighting for the royal prerogatives, he genuinely believed in his Divine Right to those prerogatives and was concerned to maintain the authority of the Crown as much as the personal rule of Charles Stuart. On both sides there were men who were anxious chiefly for their own advancement and profit, but they were exceptional and not typical. The majority of the participants gave themselves and their possessions, without thought of personal gain, in the interests of what they believed to be a just cause. This aspect of the struggle is what makes the telling of some of its details worth while.

Another feature of the War—in part a result of that already mentioned—was the absence of class-division among the combatants. It was not a war between rich and poor, noble and peasant, cultured and ignorant, for men of all types were to be found on both sides. There were even many examples of divided allegiance within a family, some members fighting on the King's side and some on Parliament's: not infrequently such men found them-

selves in opposing armies in a battle. For example, Oliver Cromwell's uncle and cousin, Sir Oliver and Henry Cromwell, were Royalists, and their estates were saved from confiscation after the War only by the influence of Oliver.

These two characteristics—that it was a war of principle and that members of the same family were commonly to be found on opposite sides—caused each party to respect the other and prevented the display of savagery which usually is more bitter in civil than in any other kind of strife. Contemporary with the English Civil War there were taking place in Germany the closing stages of the Thirty Years' War, the ruthless brutality of which left Germany a desert. In contrast to this, scenes of wanton bloodshed were so rare and on so small a scale in England as to be negligible ; indeed, during the opening campaigns, the parliamentary leaders failed to secure a decisive victory because they did not wish to embarrass the King unduly by completely routing him ! By Royalists and Parliamentarians alike, non-combatants were generally respected.

The Parties.

But though there was no hard-and-fast line of distinction between the Royalist and Parliamentary parties, the principles at stake did tend to draw certain types of men to the respective camps. Thus the Roman Catholics were Royalists because they favoured the Queen and because they could expect no favours from Puritans ; and so were the High Churchmen because they believed in Divine Right. The Puritans, on the other hand, were Parliamentary, except a body of moderates who believed that the Commons had obtained sufficient security against further extension of arbitrary government. This religious partisanship was reflected in a geographical distribution. The cathedral cities and the two universities were Royalist owing to High Church influences, whereas the manufacturing towns, where Puritanism was strong and where the

merchants had suffered from the irregular taxation imposed by the King, were predominantly Parliamentary. From this it followed that London was the stronghold of Parliamentaryism, and during the first two campaigns the Royalists made the seizure of the city their primary objective. In general terms the north (apart from the woollen towns of Lancashire and Yorkshire) and the west were Royalist, while the south and east were Parliamentary.

The cause at issue explained a further dividing-line between the opposing forces. The nobility as a class felt that their interests were bound up with those of the King: like him, they derived their rank and its privileges by hereditary right, and if he fell there was no security that they would not follow him. The influence of the nobility carried to the King's side also their tenants both greater and smaller, that is, the tenant-farmers and their labourers. The yeomen, that is, those who held the freehold of their own farms, were Parliamentarians. Because the nobles had seats in the House of Lords, and because most of the yeomen of the counties and the traders of the towns had votes for Members of the Commons, we might expect the Upper House to be Royalist and the Lower to be Parliamentary. Yet here also the division on a basis of principles rather than of classes is clearly exemplified: though about eighty peers were active Royalists and twenty others were neutral, thirty were Parliamentarians; and the early parliamentary leaders, like Essex and Manchester, were members of the Lords. Similarly, something like one hundred and seventy-five Members of the Commons were supporters of Charles.

Resources of the Parties.

These grounds of partisanship are of more than intrinsic interest: they help to an understanding of the respective military objectives and of reasons for success or failure as the War proceeded. The adherence to the King of the nobles and their dependants was a source of both strength

and weakness. They brought to him horses and horsemanship, and as the cavalry was the most potent arm in seventeenth-century tactics, this advantage ought to have given to the King a decisive superiority, all the more so because in Prince Rupert, who was Charles's nephew, the Royalists possessed one of the most dashing and capable cavalry leaders of the day. Moreover, the nobles were wealthy in lands and in silver plate; and with willing self-sacrifice they placed their riches at Charles's disposal. But therein lay also a serious weakness—perhaps the decisive weakness—of the King's position: lands and silver plate could be pawned or sold only once, and when their product had been expended the royal exchequer would become exhausted. The only way in which it might be replenished was by loans or gifts from abroad, particularly from France; but Parliament's possession of the navy and the seaports presented an effective barrier to such contributions. Consequently, Charles must win the War during the first two campaigns or not at all. Though during the first two years the general military advantage was with the King, he failed to carry it on to a decisive issue.

Parliament's wealth lay chiefly in the coffers of the trading-classes of the towns. These were not only able to raise loans in the opening months of the War, but their business was of such a nature that it brought to them a constant flow of wealth. Parliament also learned to develop for its own use the nation's taxable wealth which it had refused to place at the disposal of the King, thus ensuring a steady and growing income wherewith to meet the expenses of its army. In principle the same conditions held good also of the Parliament's military resources. The outbreak of hostilities found the Parliamentary army without sound organization and without effective leaders; only gradually, as Parliament learned the lessons of the War, were these defects rectified. Thus, on both the economic and the military sides, Parliament managed to stave off defeat long enough to exhaust the supplies of the

King and to enable its own resources to be developed to a point which gave finally a complete victory.

2. CAMPAIGN OF 1642

The War extended over the four years 1642-1645 and, as fighting in the seventeenth century all but ceased during the winter season, there were four campaigns. Battles and skirmishes were constantly taking place between opposing bodies of men who met sometimes by design and sometimes by accident ; but in each year one or two events proved critical in that campaign and in the War as a whole. It is with those few events only that we shall be concerned.

Single Royalist Attack.

The campaign of 1642 was mainly one of manœuvring for position and of testing the strength of the enemy. When Charles first raised his flag at Nottingham his forces were so weak that a determined attack by the Earl of Essex would have ended the War before it had fairly begun. But Essex dallied and allowed Charles to move westwards to recruit more men on the Welsh border. Then, from Shrewsbury he marched towards London. Essex countered this move by also marching westward from Northampton to intercept the Royalist army. On 23rd October at *Edgehill*, on the border of Warwickshire, the two armies met. Prince Rupert quickly dispersed the Parliamentary horse and chased them from the field ; Charles was able to pursue his way, but when he found himself faced by the trained bands of London he turned aside to Oxford, where he wintered and where his headquarters continued for the remainder of the War.

3. CAMPAIGN OF 1643

Threefold Royalist Attack.

During the winter of 1642-1643 both sides tried to strengthen their forces, and the King also prepared a com-

prehensive threefold attack on London. The scheme was for Lord Newcastle to raise troops in the north, for Sir Ralph Hopton to raise them in the south-west, while the King himself was to lead levies from Wales and the West Midlands, and then for all the three commanders to concentrate against the capital. The opening stages of the campaign promised some success: Newcastle defeated Lord Fairfax and Sir Thomas Fairfax in Yorkshire and then besieged them in Hull where, because the town was open to the sea which was commanded by the Parliamentary fleet, they remained immovable; and Hopton, after defeating the Parliamentarians at Roundaway Down, combined with Rupert and together they captured Bristol. But having achieved so much success they were unable to make use of it, for the three Parliamentary towns of Hull, Plymouth and Gloucester presented effective barriers to their advance towards London. The Royalists could, of course, have avoided these places by making a circuit, but that would have left the Parliamentary garrisons free to overrun the surrounding districts. Consequently, as the Royalist volunteers refused to leave their estates and their families at the mercy of the enemy, the projected triple attack had to be abandoned. In September, 1643, Essex raised troops in London, marched westward and relieved Gloucester—which Charles was besieging—but on his return journey was intercepted at Newbury by Royalists, who, though winning the action, were unable to prevent the return of the Parliamentarians to London.

Scottish Intervention.

The King had failed to achieve the victorious climax that he had planned, but his forces were nevertheless in control of something like three-quarters of the kingdom, and there were signs of a reaction in his favour. If this continued, the campaign of 1644 might see the complete defeat of the Parliamentary cause. So desperate did the situation appear that Pym opened negotiations with the

Scots. The latter were willing to respond because if the King routed Parliament he would be stronger than ever to enforce Laudianism in Scotland. In September, 1643, the *Solemn League and Covenant* was therefore signed: by its terms the Scots undertook to send twenty thousand men to support Parliament, and in return the latter agreed to establish Presbyterianism in England.

The Eastern Association.

During 1643 Parliament's fighting forces had been strengthened in yet another direction. Oliver Cromwell¹ had been present at the Battle of Edgehill and, though previous to the 1642 campaign he had had no experience of warfare, two lessons of that battle impressed themselves on his mind. First, he realized that until Parliament had cavalry sufficient in numbers and training to meet Rupert's horsemen, the King would win every encounter. Second, the individual quality of the Parliamentary troops was markedly inferior to that of the Royalists': the King's men were gentlefolk, devoted to Charles and convinced that they were supporting a cause blessed by God; Cromwell's impression of the Parliamentary regiments was expressed in a letter to John Hampden, his cousin:

"Your troops are most of them decayed serving-men, tapsters, and such kind of fellows; do you think that the spirits of such base, mean fellows will ever be able to encounter gentlemen that have honour, and courage, and resolution in them? You must get men of a spirit that is likely to go as far as gentlemen will go, or you will be beaten still."

In December, 1642, Parliament issued an ordinance which grouped the counties together into "Associations" so that each "Association" might raise a combined force for mutual defence. The most famous was the "Eastern Association", which consisted of the counties of Norfolk, Suffolk, Essex, Cambridgeshire and Hertfordshire—Hunt-

¹ For further details, see Chapter XIV, Section 1.

ingdonshire and Lincolnshire being added in the following year.

Of this Association Lord Manchester was in command, though Cromwell was the leading spirit and was responsible for recruiting and training the cavalry. Cromwell was Member of Parliament for the Borough of Cambridge, and in that town he made his headquarters. To him the real issue of the War was the religious one, and because he believed that the cause of Puritanism could not prosper except in the hands of worthy men who were devoted to that faith, he refused to allow any but God-fearing, clean-living men into his troops. These, inspired by religious fervour, were trained under stern discipline ; any man who used foul language or became drunk or plundered was subject to heavy punishment. Cromwell saw to it, also, that his men were well armed and well horsed. In short, he produced the finest soldiers in the Kingdom. Throughout 1643 the recruitment and drilling went on, and during that year the Association troops received plenty of practice in actual warfare. The impression they made upon both friends and foes alike was accurately reflected in the nickname of " Ironsides " which they soon earned for themselves. By the time the 1644 campaign opened, Manchester and Cromwell were in command of fifteen thousand troops.

Deaths of Leaders.

Apart from these main features of the 1643 campaign, the year was marked by the deaths of three notable men. In June, *John Hampden* received a mortal wound at a small skirmish at Chalgrove Field near Oxford. At Newbury—known as the First Battle of Newbury because of a second that took place there next year—*Lord Falkland* was killed. Most disastrous of all was the death of *John Pym* in December. All these were men of the noblest type, fighting reluctantly—Falkland for the King and the others for Parliament—in what they believed to be the highest

interests of the State. Their removal made a moderate peace much less likely than it would have been had they lived. This was particularly true of Pym: he had been the irrepressible champion of Parliament's liberties and had won a position of such eminence that he was commonly known as "King Pym". His death left Parliament without a leader of unquestioned distinction and therefore without one who, after the War, could challenge the leaders of the Army. Had Pym lived, the country would probably never have been a republic and almost certainly would have been spared a military dictatorship.

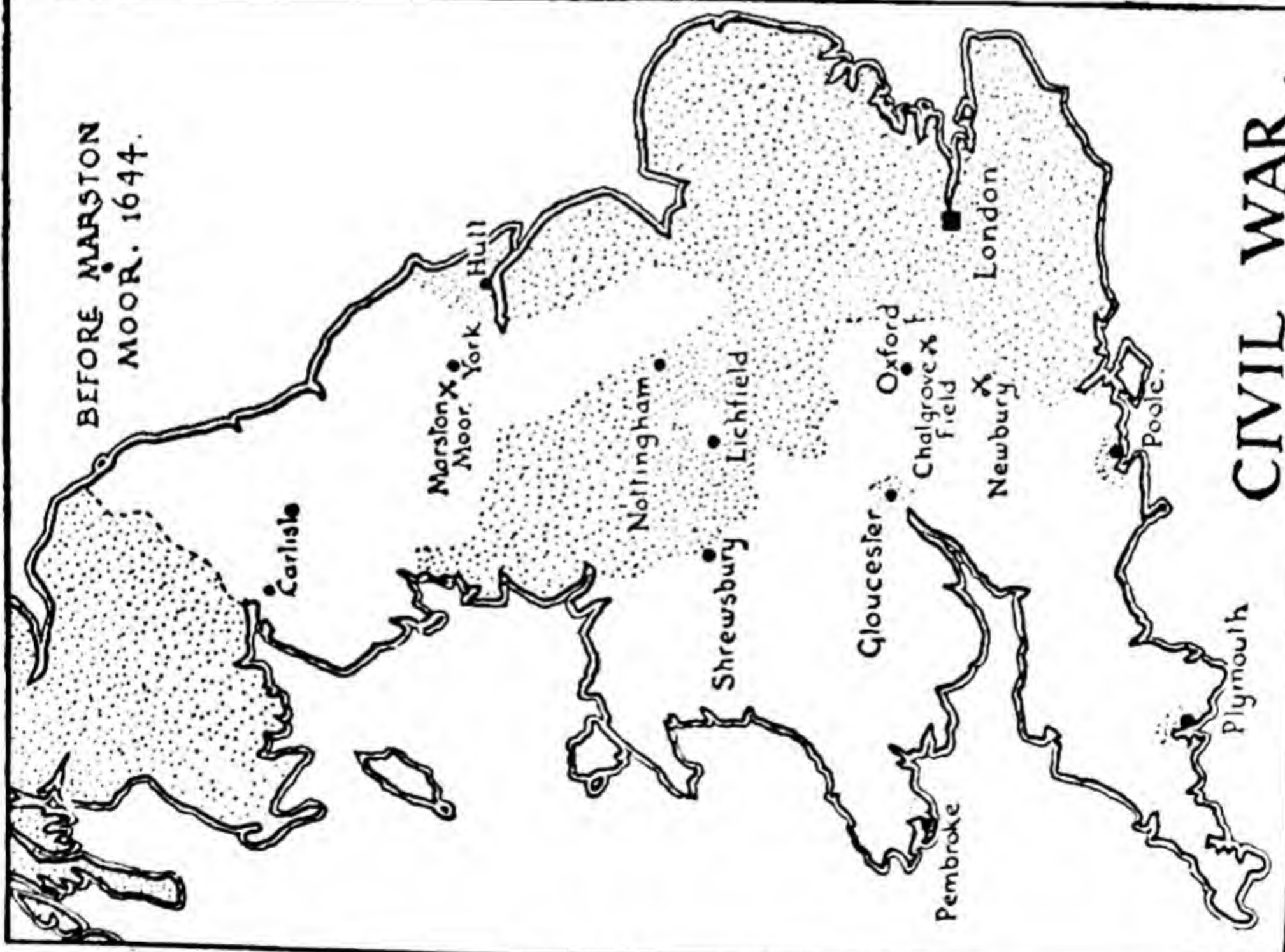
4. CAMPAIGN OF 1644

The campaign of 1644 was the crisis of the War. Would the Royalist progress of the previous year be continued, or would the intervention of the Scots and the development of the Ironsides turn the tide?

Marston Moor.

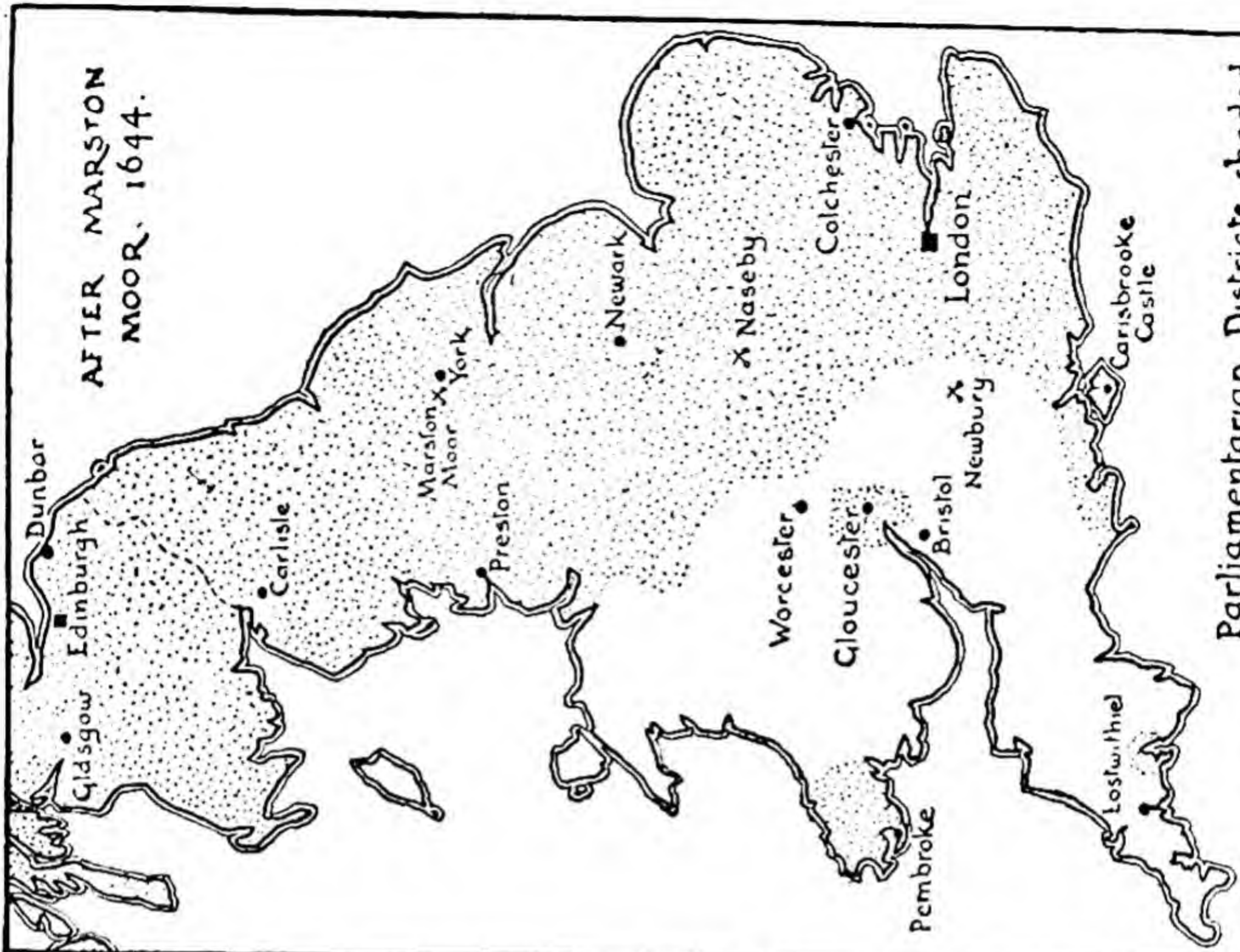
When the Earl of Leven (formerly Alexander Leslie) led the Scots across the border in January, 1644, the military balance in the north of England was immediately upset. Royalist troops were concentrated to meet the invaders, and the Fairfaxes were able to move out of Hull; at the same time Manchester and Cromwell marched northward at the head of the forces of the Eastern Association. York—the "capital of the north"—was the first large city in the path of the Scots, and there Lord Newcastle found himself besieged by the Parliamentarians and the Scots. Rupert advanced to relieve the city, and at his approach the siege was raised. The Parliamentarians drew off to the neighbouring Marston Moor, and there, on 2nd July, the battle took place.

At five o'clock in the evening the two armies were face to face, the Royalists numbering something under eighteen thousand and the Parliamentarians twenty-six thousand,



BEFORE MARSTON
MOOR. 1644.

CIVIL WAR.



AFTER MARSTON
MOOR. 1644.

Parliamentarian Districts shaded

more men being engaged than in any other battle of the War. The Royalists had concluded that no battle would take place that night ; but unexpectedly at 7 p.m. Cromwell led a charge, and a general engagement began. Cromwell's cavalry on the Parliamentary left routed the Royalist right wing led by Rupert. On the other wing the position was reversed : Goring repulsed Sir Thomas Fairfax who was commanding the Parliamentary horse on the right ; but the discipline of Cromwell's Ironsides was such that he was able to bring them back to the field in time to defeat Goring. Meanwhile the Parliamentary centre was being broken and Parliament seemed already to have lost the battle, for Leven and both the Fairfaxes had been driven from the field. Once more Cromwell saved the situation by gathering together sufficient men to scatter Newcastle in the Royalist centre and so, in a short, sharp encounter, to save the battle.

Marston Moor produced two outstanding results. First, a fortnight after the battle, York capitulated to the Parliamentarians and the whole of the north of England was lost to the King. Second, the effectiveness of the Ironsides had been demonstrated so signally that the army chiefs would have been dull-witted indeed if they had not learnt the lesson.

Second Battle of Newbury.

Charles's position was even yet far from hopeless. In the Midlands he won some successes. In Cornwall, where Essex had spread his troops, Charles caught him at *Lostwithiel* : Essex was compelled to flee by boat, and his infantry were surrounded and captured.

Thence Charles returned towards London, but in October was intercepted at *Newbury*, where Manchester brought on a second battle. The Royalists were defeated—mainly by Cromwell's cavalry—but Manchester failed to push home the victory, and Charles escaped. Manchester had had within his fingers the opportunity to seize the King and

to end the War, but had allowed it to slip away. Thereupon Cromwell, who wished for a decisive end to the War, quarrelled violently with Manchester.

New Model Army.

The dispute was due to more than merely temporary causes and was the expression of differences of view about the fundamental aim and policy of the War. Essex and Manchester represented a section of Parliamentarians who still believed that their object would be achieved if the King were defeated sufficiently to compel him to make terms. Even yet they could not bring themselves to rout him completely as they would have done any other enemy. Cromwell took another view. He believed that war could not be carried on by a policy of half-measures : either it had to be won outright or lost. The quarrel was intensified by its religious aspect : Essex, Manchester and the great majority of the Members of Parliament were Presbyterians ; but Cromwell was an Independent and encouraged freedom of thought and worship among his troops. Thus when Cromwell in November, 1644, raised in the Commons the question of the conduct of the War, personal animosities and religious passion combined to produce sharp divisions. The House of Lords favoured Essex and Manchester, but the Commons gradually became convinced by Cromwell's arguments which he summarized as follows :

“ If the army be not put into another method and the war more vigorously prosecuted, the people can bear the war no longer, and will enforce you to a dishonourable peace.”

In the discussions, Cromwell did his best to avoid personal bitterness, for anything that led to a rupture among the Parliamentary ranks would be fatal to the cause ; and Cromwell always placed the good of the cause before his own interest or wishes.

The practical problem was how to discriminate between the army leaders so as to dispense with the less efficient

among them without causing too deep resentment ; and Parliament could not forget, either, that the officers of whom complaint was now being made had borne the brunt of the early difficulties and had led the army when no other Generals were available. Finally, on the plea that no man could properly discharge the work of a soldier and of a Member of Parliament, Parliament passed the *Self-Denying Ordinance* in February, 1645. Under its provisions, all Members of Parliament were deprived of their commands in the army. Among those affected were Essex and Manchester, as Members of the Upper House, and Cromwell, who was a Member of the Lower.

Parliament then proceeded with the second part of its military reforms. Acting on the advice of the "Committee of Both Kingdoms"—which was a committee, set up in March, 1644, of English and Scottish officers to manage the War, Cromwell being one of its members—it ordered the formation of an army of regular soldiers, thoroughly trained, efficiently armed, and punctually paid. Sir Thomas Fairfax was chosen as its commander, and his request that Cromwell should be appointed as Lieutenant-General and leader of the cavalry was granted, in spite of the *Self-Denying Ordinance*. This *New Model Army* was a larger edition of Cromwell's "Ironsides". Being regularly enlisted troops, they were not limited by local loyalties or ties—as, for example, the King's men of the north and the west had been in 1643—but could be sent anywhere and could be relied upon to render implicit obedience to commands both in battle and out of it. Among this Army, as among the original Ironsides, Independency spread apace : its effect will become apparent later.

5. CAMPAIGN OF 1645

The organization of the New Model was far from complete when campaigning began in 1645 ; but even so it became the decisive factor in the War.

Battle of Naseby.

During 1644 Charles's fortunes had begun to improve in Scotland. The Highlanders were not only devoted to the King, they were also resentful of the Presbyterian rulers who were hardly less tolerant than the Laudians had been. This discontent was headed by James Graham, Earl of Montrose, whom in 1644 Charles created a Marquis and Lieutenant-General in Scotland. In the same year Montrose raised forces to support the cause of Charles. In September at Tippermuir and in February, 1645, at Inverlochy the Highlanders routed the Presbyterian Covenanters, and the King began to hope that his forces in England might be able to co-operate with the Royalists in Scotland.

In June, 1645, Charles left Oxford to make for the north, but at Naseby in Northamptonshire Fairfax and Cromwell brought on an engagement. In its general features the battle resembled that at Marston Moor. Rupert on the Royalist right wing routed the Parliamentary left and chased them off the field ; similarly Cromwell defeated the Royalist left, but the superior discipline of his troops enabled him to return to the battle in time to strike the decisive blow. By the time Rupert's men began to reappear, the main battle was over, and Cromwell was able to scatter Rupert also.

This was the last great battle of the Civil War ; never afterwards did the King seem to have the slightest chance of winning. It was decisive in two respects. First, the Parliamentary Generals were no longer playing at war, and the Royalist army was smashed past repair. Second, the King's private papers fell into his enemies' hands : they proved conclusively that Charles was intriguing with the Irish rebels, with the French and even with the Dutch for military help, and Charles, thus standing revealed as a traitor to his country, lost the support of many who had hitherto favoured his cause. The remaining engagements

were merely the last sparks from the dying fire : in September, for example, Fairfax dislodged Rupert from Bristol.

Meanwhile Montrose had been continuing his rising in Scotland. At *Kilsyth* near Glasgow in August, 1645, he won a great victory which gave him the control of nearly all Scotland ; but his Highlanders—who had been moved by clan hatred against the supporters of Parliament as much as by loyalty to the cause of the King—returned home with the booty they had collected after the battle, and at *Philiphhaugh* in September his depleted forces suffered a complete reverse at the hands of David Leslie, who had been despatched north from the Scottish army in England. This ended the last of Charles's hopes. In May, 1646, he surrendered himself at Newark to the Scots who retired with him to Newcastle. In June, Oxford, the most loyal of all towns to the Stuarts, also capitulated and the War was over.

6. EVENTS LEADING TO THE EXECUTION OF CHARLES I, 1649

The Position, 1646.

Charles's surrender marked the end of only the first stage in the struggle between King and Parliament. As with most wars, the victors' real difficulties began when peace compelled them to seek again a solution of the problems which originally caused the dispute. Parliament had taken up arms as a last resort in order to hold Charles to his promises : now that he was beaten, the critical question was by what method that object could best be secured. Further, that Charles had lost the War was beyond dispute, but who had won it was less certain. There were three possible claimants : Parliament itself, who had challenged the King's claim to despotism, had first organized resistance and had provided the supplies necessary for warfare ; the Scots, without whose intervention at the crisis of 1643 and 1644 the Royalists would have gone on to

complete victory; and the New Model Army, whose Independency was detaching it more and more widely from the Presbyterian Parliament and which, since the formation of the New Model, had become an almost separate entity. Charles, quick to appreciate the possibilities of friction between these three bodies, adopted the policy of fomenting their mutual jealousies, hoping that as the "thieves fell out" he, honest man, would "come to his own". During the three years following his surrender to the Scots Charles tried to play off Parliament, Scots and Army against one another; while pretending to consider peace-terms with any one of them, he was secretly intriguing to secure better terms with the others. In the end they all found him out and therefore all distrusted him. Even in 1646 no party in the kingdom had any thought of getting rid of either Charles I or the monarchy. The only problem was to decide upon the particular terms on which the King should be restored to the throne, and Charles's incorrigible perfidy alone was responsible for his execution and for the establishment of a republic.

We must not conclude from this that Charles was merely a selfish schemer: he was genuinely convinced that as King he was the appointed instrument of God to govern his unruly subjects and that if he compromised his royal prerogatives he would be unworthy of his divine commission. This exalted view of himself led him to regard his enemies as knaves, in one's relationships with whom the ordinary rules of morality did not apply. In a word, though Charles's judgment was at fault, his conscience seems never to have caused him doubt. What he did not understand was that his enemies also were moved by religious convictions with which they would not allow even the King to trifle.

Newcastle Propositions, 1646.

Charles had chosen to surrender himself to the Scottish rather than to the English army because he believed that

his Stuart ancestry would awaken loyalty among the Scots and would enable him to bargain with them more favourably than with his other enemies. But in this first move Charles was foiled. The Scots and Parliament, both being Presbyterian, jointly presented to him terms which came to be known as the Newcastle Propositions. These included the abolition of Episcopacy, the establishment of Presbyterianism, the enforcement of the penal laws against Roman Catholics, and the control of the army and the navy by Parliament for twenty years. During several months Charles pretended to be considering these proposals, but his conscience and his hope of securing better terms elsewhere combined to prevent his accepting them. At last the Scots lost patience. Some months previously, Parliament had agreed that the back pay due to the Scots under the Solemn League and Covenant was £400,000 ; and in January, 1647, on the receipt of that sum, the Scots handed over the King to Parliament—a transaction which in no sense constituted, as it is sometimes represented as doing, a selling of the King.

The Scots were thus out of the game, and the King was in the hands of Parliament, which lodged him at Holmby House in Northamptonshire. Since no one thought of any solution of the problem of government that left the King out, the possession of his person was no idle factor in the issue, for no party could effect a settlement without securing his co-operation. Parliament thought to make use of their advantage in order to get rid of their rival, the Army. The end of the War seemed to make the continuance of a large and expensive army no longer necessary or desirable, and Parliament resolved that, apart from contingents which were to be sent to restore order in Ireland, the Army should be disbanded. But in carrying out this proposal, Parliament committed the incredibly foolish blunder of wishing to hand to the soldiers only six-weeks' back pay which was only one-sixth of what some of them were entitled to.

The " Heads of the Proposals ", June, 1647.

This provided the Army with a genuine grievance, and its leaders decided to take Parliament unawares. On 3rd June a troop of five hundred horse, under a certain Cornet Joyce, appeared at Holmby House and carried off the King to Newmarket which was then the Army's headquarters. Thence the Army marched to London, excluded from the Commons eleven Presbyterians who were its foremost opponents—an ominous foretaste of the subsequent relationship between the Army and Parliament—and transferred the King to Hampton Court.

The Army's next step was to try to arrive at an agreed settlement with the King. To thresh out every detail of a form of government would have needed months of intricate negotiations, would have provided scores of points on which those negotiations might have broken down, and would meanwhile have left the country without any settled rule. Accordingly, only the principles of the Army's proposed settlement were presented to Charles, and hence were known as the " Heads (that is, Headings) of the Proposals ". These were really the work of General Ireton, who was Cromwell's son-in-law. Its terms were that :

1. There were to be biennial Parliaments elected by reformed constituencies.
2. A Council of State was to control the army and foreign affairs.
3. Ministers were for ten years to be appointed by Parliament.
4. Episcopacy was to be established as the State Church, but there was to be toleration for members of other faiths except for Roman Catholics.

This was a comprehensive scheme of government, securing the essentials of Parliament's demands yet showing a wise spirit of compromise in matters of detail, and so far-seeing as to anticipate by nearly three hundred years the actual

redistribution of parliamentary seats. Moreover, it proved that even at that late date there was no idea of abolishing the kingship. Charles was a completely defeated man and might have considered himself fortunate with terms far less favourable than these which were the best he ever was offered. Yet, still infatuated with the idea that by waiting and haggling he could secure still better conditions with the Scots or with Parliament, he rejected the " Heads of the Proposals ".

Second Civil War, 1648.

The truth was that Charles was intriguing with the Scots who held out hopes of restoring him to the throne on condition that he accepted the Covenant. With the object of freeing himself for whatever steps these negotiations might suggest, in November, 1647, he escaped from Hampton Court and fled to Carisbrooke Castle in the Isle of Wight. Charles appears to have thought that the Governor of the Castle had Royalist sympathies, but when he reached the Castle he found that he had mistaken his man : instead of being an honoured guest, Charles remained at the Castle a prisoner. But he found means to continue his negotiations with the Scots. In December, 1647, he signed with them *The Engagement* whereby they promised to restore him to the throne on condition that Presbyterianism was established in England and Scotland for three years. Then Charles intrigued with the English Presbyterians and with Royalists. There was widespread discontent among the people : by some the Army leaders were regarded as clinging to power and by others as threatening, by negotiations with the King, to throw away the liberties that had been fought for and won. Of this reaction Charles tried to take advantage by doing his best, through agents, to stir up disaffection and strife. The result was sporadic risings and the invasion of England by the Scots.

The engagements which took place are often given the

exaggerated title of the "Second Civil War". Its story is soon told. In Kent and Essex there were risings which were crushed by Fairfax who defeated the Royalists at Maidstone in June, captured Colchester in August, and overran East Anglia. Cromwell marched into South Wales, took the Castle at Pembroke in July, and then made for the north of England which had been invaded by the Scots under the leadership of Hamilton. At *Preston*, in August, Cromwell met the invaders: their army was smashed, and the remnants that managed to scatter from the field were caught and exterminated at Wigan and Warrington. Hamilton was captured, taken to London, and in March, 1649, was executed.

Pride's Purge, December, 1648.

Though the "Second Civil War" had not been a serious military challenge to the Army, it demonstrated beyond all doubt the duplicity of Charles and brought to a head the feeling, which during recent months had been growing in intensity, that England would never enjoy peace until he had been disposed of. Cromwell and the other leaders returned from the 1648 campaign with the determination hardening in their hearts to bring him to trial.

Parliament, making one last attempt to shake off the supremacy of the Army, again negotiated with Charles, and, by the *Treaty of Newport*, Parliament undertook to support Charles provided that the control of the militia were vested in Parliament and that Charles accepted Presbyterianism. Charles's habit of procrastination again ruined his chances: though the main provisions of the proposed Treaty had been agreed upon, he was still haggling over details when the Army chiefs intervened. To find Parliament still negotiating with the King after his perfidy had been revealed by the risings of 1648 was more than the Generals could endure. On 6th December, 1648, Cromwell sent to the House of Commons a detachment of soldiers under Colonel Pride: of the Presbyterians in the

House, Pride expelled nearly one hundred and sent to prison nearly fifty others.

The ninety Members that were allowed to remain acquired the appropriate nickname of "The Rump". They were unrepresentative of the nation, and none of their actions were legal: the Rump was merely the tool of that faction in the State which happened at the moment to be supreme.

Charles I Executed, January, 1649.

On 23rd December the Rump ordered the King's trial. A special "High Court of Justice" of one hundred and thirty-five members was established to try him for treason to the State. On 20th January, 1649, the "trial" began. The court was obviously "packed"; not more than one half of the appointed judges ever sat in it (even Sir Thomas Fairfax absented himself); and those who did appear had made up their minds as to the verdict before the business was opened. Charles adopted throughout an altogether correct and dignified attitude: he reaffirmed that his responsibility was to God alone, refused to recognize the right of any court to try him, and in particular denied the legality of the court as then constituted. For seven days the farce dragged on. On 27th January the court pronounced sentence: "This court doth adjudge that he, the said Charles Stuart, as a tyrant, traitor, murderer and public enemy to the good people of this nation, shall be put to death by the severing of his head from his body." The final death-warrant was signed by only fifty-nine men. On 30th January Charles was led to the place of execution at Whitehall. With calm, brave dignity he faced death, his faith unshaken to the very end.

Charles won more followers to his cause by his death than he had done by his life. His execution changed him from a wayward king into an adored martyr; the vast majority of the nation recoiled in horror from the deed; and as time passed, and as the rule of his successors became more and more tyrannical, men forgot Charles's human

failings, idealized him as a monarch, and remembered his judges as "regicides". Yet it is not easy to see what alternative policy the Army could have adopted. Charles had shown himself over and over again to be completely untrustworthy and therefore so persistent an enemy of the public peace as to justify the reference to him as "Charles Stuart, that man of blood". His judges acted reluctantly and not from any motives of self-aggrandizement or revenge but from a stern sense of duty. A story, which seems to have some foundation in fact, is told that during the night following Charles's execution, Cromwell, heavily muffled, paid a reverent visit to the corpse and was overheard to murmur: "Cruel necessity!" That scene exactly typifies the attitude of the Army leaders.

Whatever the right and wrong of the case, Charles's death left the Army supreme in the State. The question, on the answer to which hung the destiny of England, was what use the Army would make of its power.

CHAPTER XIV

THE COMMONWEALTH

I. OLIVER CROMWELL: 1599-1658

Early Career.

AMID the uncertainty as to the fate of England after the death of Charles I, one fact was beyond all doubt: no matter what shape the new English government might take, the foremost figure in the State would be Oliver Cromwell.

Until the outbreak of the Civil War he had been unknown beyond his own locality. By birth he was connected with Thomas Cromwell, Earl of Essex, of the reign of Henry VIII, being the great-great-grandson of Katherine, Thomas Cromwell's sister. Oliver was born in Huntingdon on 25th April, 1599. After attending school in his native town, he passed to Sidney Sussex College, Cambridge, but left the University in 1617 without graduating. In the previous year his father had died, and Oliver returned home to manage the family estates. In 1628 he was elected to the third Parliament of Charles I as Member for Huntingdon. His property in Huntingdon he subsequently sold, and he and his family moved first to St. Ives and then to Ely. In the Short Parliament of 1640 and also in the Long Parliament he sat as Member for the Borough of Cambridge. His contribution towards the defeat of the Royalists, in organizing the cavalry of the Eastern Association and of the New Model Army and in leading the 1644 and 1645 campaigns, and the part he played in the events

leading to the execution of the King, we have already reviewed.

A sure indication of his greatness was that scarcely any two individuals, and certainly no two parties, agreed upon their verdict of the man. As time passed, this divergence of view widened. To some, Oliver Cromwell became the hero, and to others the villain, of the Commonwealth story; and ever since his own day, his life has led some to admire and others to detest him. But whatever we think of him, we cannot ignore him: for good or ill, Oliver Cromwell stands as one of the strong figures in English history.

One of the main reasons for the variety of opinions about Cromwell's character and work is the glaring inconsistencies of his actions. During the early part of 1648 he was doing his utmost to bring about some agreement between Parliament and the King, but before the year was out he was foremost in urging Charles's death; he was the vigorous opponent of tyranny, yet he became the sternest despot in English history; though he professed disbelief in the use of force—he told the Commons that “what we gain in a free way is better than twice so much in a forced way, and will be more truly ours and our posterity's”—he imposed upon the nation the only military autocracy she ever had. Yet the man himself and the vigour of his work prove that these apparent inconsistencies are not due to either weakness or caprice. They are to be explained by two factors in the character of Cromwell.

Religious Convictions.

First, the true secret of Cromwell's life lay in his religious convictions. He was thoroughly assured that God was ordering his life for God's glory and for the welfare of England. But in his interpretation of the divine method of guidance he differed from the vast majority of his religious contemporaries. The Presbyterians held to the terms of the Covenant which they wished to impose upon the whole

people ; and the Levellers, led by John Lilburne, aimed at destroying social inequalities and establishing something like a socialistic state. Cromwell did not allow himself to be bound by any such hard-and-fast programmes : he believed that the divine guidance for every man was to be found in the trend of each new set of circumstances. A victory for the New Model Army was to him a proof that he was pursuing the path God had marked out for him. Hence, because Cromwell felt himself being led step by step rather than being supported in his efforts to reach a goal clearly defined from the beginning, his course was erratic and not straight. In this sense Cromwell is to be regarded as an opportunist ; that is, he never allowed any strict doctrines to prevent his taking advantage of the possibilities which any opportunity might present to him. As a result he went much further than originally he had any intention of going. This characteristic he shared with all the great reformers, Luther and Wesley for example. Cromwell himself was not blind to this process : he once declared, "None goes so far as he that knows not whither he is going."

This does not mean that Cromwell had no political principles. He states repeatedly that the sole purpose of his government was to promote the good of the governed, and that by its success or failure to achieve that end any government must be judged. But the reception given to the early schemes of the Commonwealth, convinced Cromwell that the majority of the nation did not understand what was their "good" and that the multitude of various opinions, if allowed unrestrained voice, would produce chaos. Believing, further, that the State's immediate need was for firm rule which only he could give, he imposed his rule upon the people, though always genuinely seeking a way whereby he could relinquish his power to some constituted authority.

Practical Sense.

This leads to mention of the second factor in Cromwell's character, namely, his practical common sense. Some of

his religious and political views were those of an extremist and his speeches were often blatantly violent, but he was saved from the logical results of his theories by the sane good sense of a balanced mind. A clear example was his attitude to the execution of the King. He agreed that Charles was untrustworthy and had merited punishment, but because Cromwell feared the effects on the nation of bringing Charles to trial, he wished to find some other means of securing the people's liberties. Cromwell therefore strenuously resisted the other Army chiefs in their policy of execution. Only when finally convinced by the Second Civil War that Charles could never be relied upon to keep a bargain and would never relinquish any item of his prerogative so as to make a compromise possible, did Cromwell throw in his lot with the majority of the officers. When he had once come to this decision, he characteristically threw all his energy into the project and took the lead in urging the trial and execution of the King. It is this habit of applying "common sense" to the problems of life, however complex, which is perhaps Cromwell's chief title to be known as the most typical Englishman of all time.

The blemishes in his life were for the most part, like those of all notable men, the defects of his own good qualities: his clear understanding of the realities of a situation made him impatient with slower and less penetrating minds, for he never was one to "suffer fools gladly"; and his confidence in God made him mistrust the views of opponents. One charge his opponents constantly levied against him, namely, that he was purposely manipulating the needs of the State in order to achieve for himself a position of power. Lapse of time and the examination of all the evidence available enable us definitely to refute that accusation. Cromwell found that circumstances—which for him were the revelation of the will of God—gradually were leading him into successive positions of influence; he never sought his own advantage, and he

always regarded power as a trust from God to be used in the interests of the whole nation.

The condition of the State after the execution of Charles was such that Cromwell would need all the trust he had in divine guidance and all his native good sense if he was to pilot the nation through to the peaceful haven of stable government. Ireland and Scotland were both in the throes of Royalist revolts ; in England the reaction was growing in favour of Prince Charles, and there were sharp divisions within the ranks of the Puritans themselves ; abroad there was antipathy towards the regicide Government, and a coalition of Continental Powers against that Government seemed possible. The remainder of Cromwell's career was concerned with his dealings in those four spheres—Ireland, Scotland, and English relationships at home and abroad.

2. IRELAND

Conquest, 1649–1651.

The situation in Ireland was particularly threatening to English rule because two hitherto opposed parties were combining : both the Roman Catholics under Hugh O'Neill and the Protestant Royalists under the Marquis of Ormond proclaimed for Prince Charles. The progress of the united parties was checked at the *Battle of Rathmines* near Dublin in August, 1649, when Colonel Jones, Governor of Dublin, routed Ormond.

Later in the same month Cromwell arrived in Ireland and began a systematic campaign to crush the rebellion. In so doing, he and his men set themselves to avenge the horrible massacres of Irish Protestants by Roman Catholics in 1641 ; this motive accounts for the brutality which everywhere marked Cromwell's conquest in 1649 and which remains the deepest stain upon his career. The rebels concentrated upon garrisoning strong towns, and Cromwell's work was therefore mainly one of sieges. He

marched north to *Drogheda* which, in September, he took by storm. The whole of its garrison, numbering nearly three thousand, and every priest upon whom the English could lay hands, were put to the sword. Next he set himself to reduce the south. *Wexford* was captured in October, and its garrison also was slaughtered. These lessons were not lost upon the Irish, and a number of towns capitulated rather than risk similar treatment. In May, 1650, Cromwell returned to England, and Ireton, his second-in-command, was left to complete the conquest. Ireton captured *Waterford* in August, 1650 (after which Ormond left Ireland), and *Limerick* in June, 1651, but died of fever in November. Ludlow then continued the work, and by the early part of 1652 the whole of Ireland had submitted.

Plantations.

The next problem was how to prevent a repetition of Irish trouble in the future. For this purpose the policy of "plantations", which had been adopted by Mary Tudor and Elizabeth, was followed. But in one essential respect Cromwell's method differed from the earlier one. Previously the peasants of a given district had been transferred to more remote and less fertile parts of the country, their lands being given to English or Scots; but Cromwell's settlement consisted of confiscating the property of Roman Catholic landowners who had opposed the rule of the Commonwealth, this property being given to Englishmen, most of whom had served in the Army, but the peasants remained to till the soil for their new masters. The English owners became virtually a garrison making a repetition of 1641 impossible. But such a settlement engendered among the native Irish a bitterness whence sprang much of the trouble of later centuries. Nevertheless it is only fair to Cromwell to say that in his own day he restored the peace, good order and respect for law which had characterized also the rule of Wentworth.

3. SCOTLAND

Outbreak of War.

The reason for Cromwell's recall from Ireland in May, 1650, before he had completed his work of conquest and settlement, was that serious disturbances had broken out in Scotland. The new Republican Government had two sets of enemies in Scotland: first, the Highlanders, led by the Marquis of Montrose, were Royalists who regarded Prince Charles as their king and were prepared to fight for his enthronement; second, the Presbyterians detested the Independents whose rule in England prevented the establishment of Presbyterianism. The Presbyterians made overtures to Charles, offering to support him if he would accept the Covenant, but Charles—a worthy son of his father—postponed making a definite promise lest he should thereby offend his other friends and in the hope that circumstances might arrive to prevent his dependence upon supporters who would exact from him such stringent conditions. Events were not kind to him in this respect. In March, 1650, Montrose raised the Highlanders, but in April was defeated by the Presbyterians who hanged him at Edinburgh (May 1650). This left to Charles no alternative to accepting the Covenant. It was at this point that Cromwell was recalled from Ireland. Parliament determined to send a large army into Scotland under Fairfax and Cromwell, but Fairfax refused to lead what he regarded as an offensive campaign against the Scots. Cromwell therefore for the first time became Commander-in-Chief of the whole English Army.

Dunbar Campaign, 1650.

In July, Cromwell crossed the border into Scotland with sixteen thousand men. To meet him the Scots raised thirty thousand men who were placed under the command of David Leslie, Prince Charles having also landed from

Holland to share in the campaign. Cromwell marched along the east coast. His aim was to bring on an open engagement, but Leslie, who was covering Edinburgh, refused to be drawn into a battle. Soon the English were stranded without sufficient food or clothing and, worse still, were dying of disease. Cromwell therefore fell back to Dunbar in order to make contact with the English fleet and to draw reinforcements from Berwick; but Leslie moved rapidly and cut off communications between Dunbar and Berwick. Cromwell was in a trap, hemmed in between the hills and the sea and unable to move or to get help. Leslie, whose position with superior numbers on the hills was impregnable, had only to wait until Cromwell either capitulated or moved to try a desperate attack.

But though Leslie was the commander, his was not the chief influence in the Scottish army: the Presbyterian ministers, impatient to rout the enemies of the Covenant, overruled him in council, and on 2nd September Leslie, against his better judgment, moved down into the valley in readiness to attack. The moment Cromwell saw the move, he exclaimed: "The Lord hath delivered them into our hands": to Cromwell the action was so extraordinary that no explanation was adequate save a special dispensation of God. The position was now reversed: Leslie was in the trap, for, though his army numbered double that of Cromwell, the hills at his back restricted his movements and Cromwell had the opportunity to use the Ironsides. The main battle was waged on 3rd September. When it was over, the Scottish army had ceased to exist: three thousand of them were dead on the field, and ten thousand were the prisoners of the English.

Immediately the battle was over, Cromwell renewed his appeals to the Scots to make peace. Some of Charles's supporters laid down their arms, but the extreme Presbyterians refused to negotiate, and the strife continued. On 1st January, 1651, Prince Charles was crowned at Scone as King Charles II. The Presbyterians and the Royalists

made common cause to support him, and nothing but arms could decide the issue.

Worcester Campaign, 1651.

Cromwell's aim was now to meet the new Scottish army as he had met that of the previous year. Stirling was the Royalists' base, and all Cromwell's attacks failed either to lure the Scots to yield the town or to give battle. At last, he tried a desperate move. Leaving Stirling, he marched north and took Perth, thus cutting off the Royalists from the north. But the southern route into England was left clear: this—as Cromwell hoped—was too strong a temptation for the Scots who, issuing from the neighbourhood of Stirling, marched rapidly towards the border.

Charles took the western road into England, marching through Carlisle and Lancashire. His hope was that his presence would encourage a rising of those sections of the English who were discontented with the government of the Independents. But his recruits were negligible in numbers: the war had become a national one, and Englishmen refused to help a Scottish invader. By the end of August Charles had reached Worcester, where he waited in order to rest his worn troops. Meanwhile Cromwell, leaving Monk to complete the conquest of Scotland, had hurried southward, gathering forces as he went until, by the time he was at Worcester, his army outnumbered that of Charles by two to one. This enabled him to surround his enemy. On 3rd September—exactly twelve months after Dunbar, and henceforth known as Cromwell's "lucky day"—the battle was engaged. Once more the Scots were routed and their army smashed. Prince Charles managed to escape from the field and to survive amazing adventures, assuming varying disguises and hiding in all manner of places—including the oak-tree at Boscobel, on the border of Shropshire, where what purports to be an offspring of the original tree is still shown. A reward of £1,000 was offered to anyone who handed him to the Government, but no

one betrayed him, and before the end of October he had reached France in safety.

Meanwhile Monk was carrying on his work in Scotland. Fortress after fortress capitulated, and by the end of 1652 the whole country was subdued. The estates of the leaders of the invasion of England were confiscated but no attempt was made at either a general confiscation or the transfer of the peasant population ; the Scottish Parliament was abolished, and Scotland sent Members instead to the Parliament at Westminster ; free trade was established between the two countries ; the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church was dissolved but Presbyterianism itself was allowed. Thus the union of England and Scotland was attained, though the Scots chafed at the loss of their national independence. Cromwell's settlement of Scotland was swept away at the Restoration of 1660, but within half a century of that date the principles of his scheme had to be restored. In 1707 Scotland and England were again, and permanently, united.

4. CONSTITUTIONAL EXPERIMENTS

The Rump.

The conquest of Ireland and of Scotland left Cromwell free to concentrate upon the fundamental of all the problems which faced the statesmen of 1649, namely, the discovery and the organization of the best form of government for England in place of the monarchy. The death of Charles I left the State without any individual in supreme command. At the moment, the ultimate source of power was the Army which, by ejecting its opponents in the Long Parliament, had brought the Rump into existence in December, 1648. This small body of men, purporting to be a Parliament, passed some drastic measures. In February, 1649, it established a Council of State of forty-one members—most of whom were Members of the Rump—to exercise the executive functions of government : the President of

the Council was Bradshaw and its Secretary was John Milton, who ruined his sight by diligent service of the Commonwealth. In March, declaring the Kingship to be "unnecessary, burdensome, and dangerous to the liberty, safety and public interest of the people", it abolished the royal office. Later in the same month, the House of Lords was swept away also. The logical conclusion of all this was an Act, passed in May, which enacted that the English people constituted "a Commonwealth and Free State . . . without King or House of Lords".

Though the Rump acted so decisively, it represented the views of only a small minority of the nation. On the one hand were the Royalists, who formed a considerable bulk of the people. On the other were the thorough-going Republicans of whom the most important section was the Levellers; these, regarding a political revolution as useless unless accompanied by a social revolution, advocated that titles and privileges should be abolished and that a socialistic state should be established. Their leader, John Lilburne, propagated their doctrines by writing a series of fiery pamphlets. In May, 1649, risings of Levellers caused considerable trouble to the Government, but were finally dispersed by Fairfax and Cromwell.

Before long the Rump quarrelled with its own creator. Now that the first crisis following the execution of Charles had passed, the Army wanted the Rump to be dissolved so that a general election might return a representative parliament. The Rump, knowing that a freely elected parliament would almost certainly overthrow the Commonwealth Government, resisted the Army's demand and claimed that, by virtue of the Act of 1641, that Parliament could not be dissolved without its own consent. Further, in 1653 it prepared a Bill which provided that in a new Parliament all the Members of the Rump should have seats and that they alone should decide cases of disputed elections. This procedure would have entailed a perpetuation of the power of the Rump. Cromwell tried to modify

the measure, and the Rump promised its postponement. But next day it proceeded with the Bill. Cromwell was furious, marched to the House with a troop of soldiers, declared that the Rump was no Parliament, had the Speaker fetched down from his Chair, ordered "that bauble" the Mace to be removed and, after the Members had left the House, locked its doors and so ended the sittings of the Long Parliament until for the last time it met during the Restoration process in 1660.

The Little (Barebones') Parliament, 1653.

The dissolution of the Rump was generally approved by the nation—Cromwell's declaration that his action caused "not so much as the barking of a dog" is borne out by contemporary evidence—but it left England again without any supreme legally constituted authority. Cromwell, whom Parliament had appointed as Commander-in-Chief, appeared to be the only person with a just claim to such authority. But his power was solely a military one, and even had he possessed any political power he could not have exercised it directly and alone. Cromwell's own chief anxiety was for the establishment of a stable government such as would ensure to the English people peace and freedom. To this end he and his fellow-officers tried one expedient after another, which, incidentally, is clear proof that Cromwell did not desire to maintain a personal despotism. The Commonwealth may thus be regarded as a period of constitutional experiments.

The first experiment was without precedent in English history. Cromwell held that sound, godly government could be carried out only by God-fearing men. After the dissolution of the Rump a temporary Council of State was appointed (most of its members being officers) to discharge the administrative business of the State. This Council instructed the congregations of Independents to draw up lists of names of men considered to be fit to act as Members of Parliament. From these lists the Council chose one

hundred and forty men who were to constitute a Parliament. Because of its smallness it became known as the "Little Parliament", and because it brought ridicule upon itself it was given the nickname of "Barebones' Parliament", the first name on its roll of Members being Praise-God Barebones. The Provost of Eton was its Speaker. The Members were sincerely desirous of promoting the welfare of the State: it reformed legal processes so as to make them cheaper and speedier; it provided for the care of lunatics and for the relief of poor prisoners. But as the bulk of its Members had had no previous governmental experience, they promoted extreme and impractical measures. In particular, its scheme for the reform of the Church raised violent opposition from nearly every party and sect. Cromwell was both disappointed at the failure of what he hoped was to inaugurate an era of ideal, godly government and was alarmed at the disaffection which had been engendered. Accordingly he determined to end the experiment. The Little Parliament had first met on 4th July. On 12th December a section of its more moderate Members met earlier than ordinarily and resolved that "the sitting of this Parliament any longer as it is now constituted, will not be for the good of the Commonwealth". They therefore yielded back their powers to Cromwell, and the other Members, presented with the accomplished fact, had no option but to accept and to return home.

The Instrument of Government, December, 1653.

Once more Cromwell was the sole authority in the State. This time he accepted a plan which several of the Army officers had advocated before the calling of Barebones' Parliament, namely, the adoption of a written Constitution which should define unalterably the powers of each State Official and Assembly and should thus abolish political uncertainty and strife. This Constitution, which was the work of the Army Council headed by Major-

General Lambert, was formulated in the "Instrument of Government". By its provisions, the British Isles were to form a Protectorate with Oliver Cromwell as Lord Protector; a new Council of State of fifteen members was to assist him in the executive functions of government; a single House of Parliament, consisting of four hundred and sixty Members representing England, Scotland and Ireland, was to meet at least once in three years and could not be dissolved within less than five months of its first session; the franchise was limited to persons having property valued at £200 or over; the Protector was allowed a fixed revenue, and any money that he required above that sum was to be voted by Parliament; the Protector had no power to veto laws unless they contravened the Instrument of Government; freedom of worship was granted to all except Roman Catholics and Episcopalians. On 16th December, 1653, Cromwell was installed as Lord Protector.

Cromwell's Ordinances.

The first Protectorate Parliament was fixed to meet on 3rd September, 1654, until which date Cromwell was to govern by means of ordinances. The ordinances that Cromwell issued during the intervening nine months when he was the sole ruler of England are a fair indication of his policy for the State. Legal processes were simplified and legal costs were reduced. A reformation of manners was attempted by forbidding duelling, swearing and cock-fighting. Strict regulations were issued for Sundays: no shops or inns were allowed to be opened and no games were to be indulged in. Cromwell also endeavoured to strengthen the Puritan churches by enforcing a strict standard among the ministers. A number of commissioners—commonly known, from the nature of their work, as "Triers"—were appointed to examine every candidate for a benefice, and only those fitted by education and character for the work were allowed to minister in the

Church. Similarly, in each county a board of "Ejectors" was set up to examine ministers already installed and to eject those who, through slackness or ignorance, were unsuited to the work. No attempt was made to use these boards of inquirers for persecution of belief; and contemporary opinion agreed that they had an entirely wholesome influence among the Puritan churches.

First Protectorate Parliament, 1654.

The first Parliament under the Protectorate met, as directed, in September, 1654. Difficulties arose from its opening session. Though they met by virtue of the "Instrument" which was to be unalterable, the Members persisted in criticizing the form of government. The Presbyterians wished for a stricter settlement of the Church, and the Republicans objected to the Protector's having powers which made him virtually a monarch. Cromwell, impatient at these bickerings over what he considered to be trifles while the country was needing strong, stable government, first excluded a hundred Members who refused to pledge their support of the Instrument of Government, and then dissolved Parliament in January, 1655, exactly twenty weeks, that is, five *lunar* months, after its first meeting.

Major-Generals, 1655.

In March, 1655, a body of Royalists, headed by a certain Colonel Penruddock, raised a rebellion at Salisbury. The rising was easily suppressed by the Protector's troops, but Cromwell took measures to prevent similar disturbances in the future. He divided England into ten—later twelve—districts over each of which he placed a Major-General whose functions were those of a superior police officer: he was responsible primarily for maintaining good order but also for supervising the morals of his area, that is, he controlled the militia and he had to see that the ordinances against swearing, cock-fighting and the profaning of

Sunday were carried out. In certain instances the Major-Generals acted censoriously, but the system did ensure peace and good order. Yet no single action of Cromwell created so much general antagonism as did his appointment of the Major-Generals ; for this was frankly arbitrary government by the Army. Cromwell had no legal authority to establish officers with these powers, for his statutory right to issue ordinances expired with the meeting of his first Parliament. In justice to Cromwell it must be said that he had no intention of instituting military rule or of substituting the Major-Generals for government by Parliament.

Meanwhile his policy was entailing heavy expenditure. The cost of the Major-General system was defrayed by a tax of one-tenth upon the property of Royalists. But his war against Spain (1655-1658) needed supplies so large that they could be obtained only by parliamentary grants. Cromwell therefore called his second Protectorate Parliament to meet in September, 1656.

Second Protectorate Parliament, 1656.

The influence of the Major-Generals had been exerted to secure the return of Members favourable to the Protector. In spite of this precaution, one hundred of the Members proved to be extreme Republicans and were excluded at the first meeting. Even the remaining Members agreed to abandon the system in return for a grant of supplies.

This, however, did not satisfy the general distrust of the Cromwellian Government. The nation was not so much opposed to Cromwell personally as to the uncertainty of the nature of his power, and gradually the conviction was spreading that a clearly-defined basis of government could be secured only by a return to a monarchy. The Protectorate was without precedent and therefore its processes and powers were without the limitation of tradition ; a king's power was exercised through certain customary channels and was capable of constitutional definition.

This attitude was reflected in the *Humble Petition and Advice* which was presented to the Protector in May, 1657. This document besought Cromwell to take the title of King and to agree to other changes in the Constitution, namely, that a second House of Parliament should be erected, its Members being nominated by Cromwell ; that the Members excluded from Parliament should be re-admitted ; and that a religious settlement should be arranged by Cromwell and Parliament, but " Papists and Prelatists " (that is, Roman Catholics and Episcopalian Churchmen) were not to be tolerated. Cromwell was also empowered to nominate his own successor. After much hesitation Cromwell accepted the Petition though refusing to take the title of King. In June, 1657, he was again installed as Protector, though with more pomp than at his previous installation.

In January, 1658, the second Protectorate Parliament met again, but this time in new conditions : Cromwell had nominated forty of his supporters in the Commons to be Members of the new Second House, and the hundred former antagonists of the Protector re-entered the Commons. Thus, while the opposition was considerably strengthened, the Protector's party was weakened and could only just maintain a majority. This encouraged factious opposition : long debates took place upon the functions of the Upper House and even of the Protector, the hundred restored Members claiming that as the *Humble Petition and Advice* had been passed in their absence they had the right to discuss it now. Effective government in such conditions was not to be expected, and early in February Cromwell dissolved the Parliament.

During the middle months of the year the Protector's health began evidently to fail. The privations of warfare and the constant strain to body and mind of the last ten years were having their effect. Though only in his fifty-ninth year, he was prematurely aged. He became subject to ague, and during August he weakened rapidly. On 3rd September—the anniversary of Dunbar and Worcester

—amid a terrific tempest of rain and wind, Oliver Cromwell breathed his last. He had named his eldest son, Richard, as his successor.

As a means to clearness of treatment we have dealt only with Cromwell's relations with his parliaments. Meanwhile he had been occupied hardly less with foreign policy ; and to that aspect of his work we must now turn.

5. FOREIGN POLICY

Cromwell's policy abroad had the same basis as his policy at home. The cause dearest to his heart was Protestantism, and its protection was his chief aim ; second, this made him anxious to prevent foreign Powers from restoring the Stuarts ; and, third, he used the opportunities which his relations with other States presented in order to secure advantages for English trade. With these objects in mind, we have to trace Cromwell's dealings successively with three enemies, namely, Prince Rupert, Holland and Spain. The nature of the conflict in each instance made sea-power the vital factor throughout.

Prince Rupert.

After the defeat of the Royalist cause on land, Prince Rupert took to the sea and employed himself in attacking Parliamentary shipping. Ireland was his first hope as a base of operations, but Cromwell's campaigns there compelled Rupert to seek fresh hunting-grounds in the Channel Islands and the Scillies. Cromwell, though without any personal experience of the sea, readily appreciated its importance : the Council of State promoted the reorganization of the fleet and, more important still, discovered in *Robert Blake* an admiral of the finest ability. The exploits which Blake achieved during the Commonwealth entitle him to rank among the great sea worthies of English history. Rupert, in the course of his expeditions, took refuge in Lisbon Harbour ; there Blake first blockaded him, and

when the Portuguese fleet combined with Rupert to drive off the English, Blake twice—in May and September, 1650—repulsed them and inflicted severe loss, though his own numbers were very inferior to theirs. By this time Rupert had slipped into the Mediterranean. Thither Blake followed him and hammered him so hard that the whole Royalist squadron was destroyed. Though these operations against Rupert were not on a great scale they had far-reaching effects. Blake's reputation was firmly established among friends and foes alike; the English navy had received valuable training for future service; and the Commonwealth Government was encouraged to further maritime enterprise.

Dutch War, 1652–1654.

War against the Dutch was due in the first instance to commercial rivalry. As soon as the Dutch had secured freedom from Spain they had made great national progress. Holland's access to the sea and her lack of facilities for manufactures led to a development of maritime activity. This was facilitated by England's preoccupation with civil war. As a result, the Dutch became supreme at sea in every part of the globe. They grew rich by transporting other people's goods and so became the maritime carriers of the world. This was particularly resented by the commercial classes of English towns and seaports, and these had been among the most prominent supporters of Parliament against the Stuarts. Antagonism towards Holland was stimulated also by the knowledge that the Dutch were encouraging Prince Charles; and a disposition towards war against Holland grew steadily. One of its most strenuous opponents was Cromwell who was anxious to bind Holland to England as a basis for a European alliance of Protestant countries; the steps whereby England gradually went to war against Holland were therefore taken against his will, but when war was once fairly launched he supported it wholeheartedly.

The national confidence on the sea having been strengthened by Blake's successes against Rupert and the Portuguese, in 1651 the Rump Parliament passed a *Navigation Act* which forbade the import of goods from abroad unless they were brought in English ships or in the ships of the country producing the goods. Though the terms of the Act were theoretically of general application, in practice they applied almost exclusively to the Dutch; for, since Holland produced almost nothing, her ships would be excluded from the harbours of England and the English colonies. If this Act became operative, a death-blow would be struck at the most lucrative section of Dutch trade, and to prevent this result the Dutch would fight England to compel her to withdraw the Act. But this was not all: after Blake had conquered the Scillies, England demanded that foreign vessels should salute the flag in English waters.

In May, 1652, some Dutch and English ships met in the Thames estuary and, when the Dutch refused the English demand for the salute, a skirmish followed. This led to general hostilities which continued for two years. In Van Tromp the Dutch had an admiral superior even to Blake in genius for seamanship, and the War promised therefore to be full of interest and crises. The decisive factor would be control of the Channel, and numerous battles were fought to secure and defend that object. Two engagements especially deserve attention. In November, 1652, off *Dungeness* Van Tromp defeated Blake. But his success was only temporary, for in February, 1653, in a three-days battle off *Portland*, Blake routed Van Tromp and so regained command in the Channel and never afterwards lost it. This enabled English ships to put a stranglehold over the commerce of Holland by preventing her ships from leaving or reaching port. In July, Van Tromp was killed in a battle off the Texel, and most of the Dutch spirit went out of the War.

As soon as the Dutch showed signs of accepting defeat,

Cromwell renewed his efforts for peace. In April, 1654, the War was brought to an end by the *Treaty of Westminster* in which all the English demands were granted. The Dutch recognized the Navigation Act, agreed to salute the English flag, and undertook not to help Royalists.

The maintenance of the Navigation Act was one of the primary causes of the decline of the Dutch carrying trade, much of which fell into English hands ; and the encouragement which English naval activity received during the Dutch War laid the foundation for the modern naval supremacy of Britain.

War against Spain, 1655-1658.

For a long time Cromwell hesitated as to whether he should ally with Spain or with France. At first the execution of Charles I caused both those countries, like the rest of Europe, to become antagonistic to the Republic, but the growing power of England at sea led them to revise their attitude : France and Spain were at war with each other, and they began to angle for an English alliance, each being jealous to obtain the alliance before the other. England's right choice between the two was not easy to determine : both of them were Roman Catholic countries, but Spain was the more bigoted and her oversea possessions were more valuable than those of France. Also, the remembrance of the Elizabethan antagonism towards Spain and a desire to use the fleet of Blake to repeat the exploits of Drake tended to turn the scale against Spain. Cromwell requested that the Spanish ambassador would obtain a guarantee that Englishmen would not be persecuted for their Protestantism in Spanish possessions and that English traders would be allowed to do business in Spanish South America. Both requests were peremptorily refused.

In December, 1654, therefore, an expedition under Penn and Venables set sail for the West Indies. An attack was made upon Hispaniola but suffered disgraceful defeat. In

the hope of compensating for the rout, the expedition turned on *Jamaica*, which was captured in May, 1655.

At the same time news reached England that the Regent of Savoy was massacring the Vaudois Protestants. Cromwell immediately exerted such pressure through the French King that the massacre ceased and the dispossessed people were reinstated in their homes. Nothing during the whole Commonwealth period gave to Englishmen, of all shades of political opinion, a greater pride than the striking success of Cromwell's interference on behalf of the Protestants in Europe. For the first time since the days of Queen Elizabeth, England could hold up her head among the nations of Europe. This intervention was followed, in October, 1655, by an alliance between England and France: in return for England's help against Spain, France promised to exclude Prince Charles from her dominions. Two years later, France further promised to allow Dunkirk to become English.

In 1656, formal war was declared between England and Spain. Next year Blake pursued a Spanish treasure-fleet to the Canary Islands, where it took refuge under the guns of the fortress of *Santa Cruz* in Teneriffe. Blake, nothing daunted, sailed in, silenced the shore guns and destroyed every Spanish ship in the harbour. During the return voyage Blake died as his ship was entering Plymouth Sound in July, 1657. The nation showed its just appreciation of his services by according him burial in Westminster Abbey.

In 1658 the War was carried on to the land. A concerted Anglo-French attack was made on Dunkirk. Six thousand Ironsides were sent across, and they proved as formidable against the Spaniards as against the Royalists. In the *Battle of the Dunes*, in June, Dunkirk was captured and became an English possession. But within three months, Cromwell was dead and the War was no longer continued. Peace was made between England and Spain in 1659.

Cromwell has been criticized frequently because he

allied with France instead of with Spain. The future was to show that under Louis XIV (1643-1715) it was France and not Spain which was to become the menace to Europe generally (and particularly to England) and that Cromwell, apparently blinded by the traditional opposition to Spain, was helping Louis to lay the foundation for this supremacy. In part there is truth in this criticism, but only in part: what gave to Louis the opportunity to assert his dominance in Europe was not the strength which he had acquired from Cromwell but was the feebleness of Charles II. If Charles had been as staunch a Protestant as Cromwell and had maintained the English navy at the same pitch of efficiency as when Cromwell left it to him, he would have been able to counterbalance the threat of Louis to England just as Cromwell would have done. So far as England was concerned, it was not Cromwell but Charles II who was responsible for the power of France.

In other respects, Cromwell's foreign policy was an unmixed success. He laid the foundation for English supremacy on the sea, both national and commercial, and he raised the prestige of England to a height which it had not reached since Elizabeth and was not to reach again until Marlborough.

6. THE RESTORATION

Position at Oliver's Death.

Though Richard Cromwell's succession provided officially for the government of England, his father's death had left a gap which no one could fill. The primary weakness of the Commonwealth thus stood revealed: it was based upon the personal influence of Oliver Cromwell. We have watched his repeated efforts to produce and enforce a constitution which should give to the nation a permanent form of government while assuring political and religious liberty. In some measure the Humble Petition and Advice of 1657 solved this problem, but the system then erected

had had no chance to become firmly established when Oliver died within fifteen months of the passing of the Petition. The only means whereby the Protectorate might have been saved was by the emergence of another man of acknowledged greatness to step into the place of Oliver—a general whose personal qualities inspired respect among his fellow-officers ; a Parliamentarian of a calibre like that of John Pym ; or a son of Oliver worthy to hold his father's office. None of these conditions was fulfilled. Lambert, Fleetwood and Monk were competent generals, but none of them was more distinguished than the others ; the rule of the Army had suppressed all parliamentary leadership ; and Richard, the eldest surviving son of Oliver, was an ordinary man without any of the qualities necessary to political greatness. The collapse of the Protectorate was thus inevitably only a matter of time.

Richard Cromwell.

Richard Cromwell was devoid of political ambition. He had no desire for office, and he stepped into the position of Protector because at the moment there seemed no particular reason for doing otherwise. Apart from personal incapacity, in two respects he was disqualified for the position : being neither a great soldier nor a strong Puritan he failed to secure the support of either of the two parties whose influence was supreme in the State.

The *third Protectorate Parliament* met in January, 1659. Its English Members were elected not according to the improved provisions laid down in the Instrument of Government but according to the corrupt customs which had previously obtained. By this means the return of a large body of moderate men was ensured, and Richard had hopes of support for himself and for the Constitution as it stood. He was doomed to disappointment. The royalist and republican Members, though too small in numbers to defeat the Government party, were strong enough to cause embarrassment by debates upon the status of the Pro-

tector and upon the position of the Second House. More serious still were the disputes between Parliament and the Army. The Council of Officers feared that Parliament would take advantage of the death of Oliver to weaken the Army, and they interpreted Parliament's proposal to make Richard Lord-General (though he was not a soldier) as an attempt to subordinate the Army to Parliament. This brought the quarrel to a head. In April, the Army Council assumed so threatening an attitude that Richard was compelled to dissolve Parliament. Once again England was under the control of the Army.

The result was the recall of the *Rump Parliament* which had been the creature of the Army. Early in May, 1659, forty-two Members reassembled. Their republican sentiments were soon manifest. So vigorously did they attack the system of government by a single person that before May was out Richard had resigned. He judged it prudent to live abroad until nearly the end of Charles II's reign. After his return to England he led the life of a country gentleman until his death in 1712.

The Rump, though called into being by the Army, was not disposed to be subservient to its master. Its Members proved to be such stern Republicans that they were opposed to military rule as strongly as to a monarchy. They tried to reorganize the Army so as to make it subordinate to Parliament, with the result that in October Lambert expelled the Rump. A Committee of Safety was appointed by the Army to govern the country, but this was evidently only a temporary expedient. A permanent constitution was still a problem for the future to solve.

General Monk.

The way out was provided in an unexpected direction. The Protectorate army stationed in Scotland had, because of its geographical remoteness, remained aside from the political squabbles of recent months. Its commander was George Monk, who had been left to govern Scotland after

the Battle of Dunbar. Unlike most of the Army officers, Monk was a Presbyterian and therefore was opposed equally to the Rump and to the Committee of Safety. His men were devoted to him, and when, in December, 1659, Monk crossed the Tweed from Scotland, he had a double advantage which no other man in the Kingdom possessed: his personal prestige had not been impaired by any share in the Army's quarrels with Parliament, and he was supported by loyal united troops.

When Monk began his march, no one knew what policy he intended to follow; nor is there any indication that he had any definite plan. Whatever might have been his own views on the situation, he was not long left in doubt about the wishes of the English people. Fearful that Monk intended to make himself Protector, the Army sent Lambert to resist his advance; but though Lambert reached Newcastle, his army melted away so rapidly that he was powerless to intervene. Then, as Monk marched southward he was everywhere welcomed by crowds whose cry was for a free Parliament. His own opinions were not based upon deep principles, and, on reaching London, he associated himself with the popular demands. When the Londoners knew that Monk had declared for a free Parliament they went wild with delight: bonfires were lighted, rumps of beef were roasted and carried round the city as a sign of derision of the Rump Parliament, and Monk became the hero of the hour.

The Presbyterians, whom Colonel Pride had expelled from the Commons in December, 1648, were recalled, and the *Long Parliament* was thus reconstituted. The Presbyterians, who easily outnumbered the Republicans, in March, 1660, carried a motion for the dissolution of Parliament, and so, in accordance with the Own Consent Act of 1641, the Long Parliament at last was legally brought to an end. New elections then took place, and in April, 1660, the two Houses met. As the writs had not been issued by a monarch, the Members did not legally constitute a Parlia-

ment. The difficulty was overcome by calling the assembly a *Convention*; and, as the great majority of its Members were either Presbyterians or avowed Royalists, its chief business was to arrange the return of the Stuart king, who would then summon a new Parliament.

Declaration of Breda.

Meanwhile, Monk was in communication with Charles to whom he had suggested a list of promises which would be likely to win the support of the English people. Acting upon this advice, in April Charles issued from Breda in Holland a Declaration in which he enunciated the principles of the settlement he would favour if he were restored to the throne. These were:

1. "A free and general pardon."
2. "A liberty to tender consciences, and that no man shall be disquieted or called in question for differences of opinion in matter of religion, which do not disturb the peace of the kingdom."
3. "All things relating to such grants, sales or purchases (of land) shall be determined in Parliament."
4. "The full satisfaction of all arrears due to the officers and soldiers of the army under the command of General Monk."

In each clause was a proviso allowing to Parliament the determining voice in enforcing these principles. This gave to the Declaration a popular appeal and made Charles appear willing to reign as a constitutional king; but the actual meaning and effect of the provisos proved to be very different from their appearance. This we shall see in the next chapter.

The Declaration was presented to the Convention which forthwith invited Charles to return. On 25th May he landed at Dover and thence proceeded to London. His progress was a triumphal procession. On 29th May, 1660—his thirtieth birthday and the day henceforward to

be celebrated as "Royal Oak Day"—Charles entered the capital amid general rejoicings. After twenty years of war and attempts to find alternative methods of government, the nation welcomed the Stuarts back to the throne.

Meaning of the Restoration.

This did not mean, however, that Charles II was picking up the threads of government exactly where and as his father had laid them down. The events of the twenty years between 1640 and 1660 had effects which could be neither undone nor forgotten by either side. Many of the political and ecclesiastical acts of the Commonwealth were indeed swept away: Charles dated his reign from the day of his father's death in 1649; the Acts of the Cromwellian Parliaments became null and void; bishops were restored; and the union of Scotland with England ceased to exist. But behind these changes there remained effects of Parliament's victory which were permanent. In particular those Acts of the Long Parliament to which Charles I had given his assent remained valid: the Courts of Star Chamber and High Commission had disappeared and so had the King's claim to raise money without Parliament's consent. Even more significant than changes in the machinery of government was the different spirit in which that machinery would be operated. Charles I had been challenged, defeated and executed, and though his son was being popularly greeted as King the people's enthusiasm would quickly evaporate if he ignored the lessons of the past. The essential meaning of 1660 was that the Stuarts were being restored "on trial" and on certain implied conditions. If they failed a second time to respect the people's rights and liberties they would be banished for ever.

CHAPTER XV

CHARLES II, 1660-1685

I. RESTORATION ENGLAND AND CHARLES II

National Attitude, 1660.

THE position in which Charles found himself as king was without precedent in English history. He was called to rule over a nation which, only twenty years earlier, had revolted against, and finally had executed, his father, and which had since been governed by the man who had emerged supreme in the struggle. The challenge to the early Stuarts had been raised chiefly by the Puritans, who had also retained the succeeding government exclusively in their own hands and were antagonistic to the Anglican Church, partly as the exponent of Divine Right and partly for religious reasons. Charles might therefore expect to meet the suspicion of strong Parliamentarians, the fear of those who had been responsible for his father's death, and the opposition of the Puritans. To negotiate successfully the dangerous pitfalls of such a position would need exceptional personal abilities and consummate statecraft.

Several factors contributed to make the new King's work easier than at first sight it appeared to be. The execution of Charles I, though it solved the problem immediately confronting the Parliamentarians, had also produced widespread revulsion—shared by many of their own numbers—against the Army leaders and so had made for the ultimate defeat of their cause. Moreover, though

Oliver Cromwell's supremacy had been almost unchallenged, his power rested not on the consent of the governed but on the support of the Army; hence his death, and the divisions among the Army leaders which followed it, allowed the true feeling of the nation to express itself. What that feeling was did not long remain in doubt. The Protectorate's interference with customary political rights had alienated the mass of the people and had produced a desire for a return to a regular kingship. Even before the end of the Protectorate, the constitution based on the Humble Petition and Advice had already restored the monarchy in all but name. Most important of all the factors tending towards a royalist restoration was that the enforcement of the Puritan régime had resulted inevitably in an anti-Puritan reaction. Immediately the Restoration was effected, the bulk of the nation swung away from the strict manner of life of the Commonwealth, and there ensued a period of licence hardly equalled either before or since in English history. Thus, though Charles II found many difficulties inseparable from his peculiar situation, he found also powerful influences at work in his favour.

Charles's Character.

Not the least advantage which Charles had as king was his own character. In the shaping of that character the effects of heredity and the circumstances of his youth were plainly marked. The outstanding trait of the new King's father had been incorrigible duplicity, exemplified continuously, as we have seen, in his negotiations with Parliament, Army and Scots after the Civil War and causing ultimately his execution. Charles II possessed the same trait; but he carried it to a fine art because his intelligence was far keener than his father's. His reign was one long story of political chicanery, and though the forces raised against him were no less formidable than those against his father, he out-manœuvred them all, achieved

his intention "not to go on his travels again", kept his throne for twenty-five years, ruled during the last four years of his reign without a parliament, and died in his bed. "The cleverest king who ever sat on the English throne" is a common but accurate description of Charles II.

In judging the mental and moral delinquencies of Charles, we have to remember that the formative years of his life were spent in circumstances which gave every opportunity to the development of instability of character. Having been born in 1630, Charles was twelve years of age when the Civil War broke out and was thirty when "restored" to the throne. The greater part of the intervening years had been spent not in steady training for the work of a king but in wanderings abroad where, as a prince in ill-fortune, he was offered the compensation of pleasure. The innate gaiety of a Stuart was not likely to resist such temptations. Charles was thus exactly suited to the anti-Puritan mood which was then sweeping over England. This personal suitability to the characteristics of the time is one of the prime explanations of Charles's success in negotiating the difficulties which faced him and in retaining the throne.

Periods of the Reign.

The reign of Charles II divides itself into five clearly defined political periods.

1. 1660-1667 : the Clarendon Period, during which the Earl of Clarendon was Lord Chancellor and chief minister.
2. 1667-1673 : the Cabal Period, when a committee of five (the Cabal) took the place of one leading minister.
3. 1673-1678 : the Danby Period, when Lord Danby was chief minister.
4. 1679-1681 : a period of struggle between Charles and

Parliament, during which three Whig parliaments met and were dissolved in rapid succession, leaving the King supreme.

5. 1681-1685: a period without any parliament, the King ruling as an absolute monarch.

We have now to study each of these periods in turn.

2. CLARENDON PERIOD, 1660-1667

Earl of Clarendon.

When Charles returned to England in 1660 he was accompanied by Sir Edward Hyde, who had supported Charles I during the Civil War and had remained loyal to the Prince throughout the Commonwealth. In the early days of the Long Parliament, Hyde had been one of the staunchest leaders of the Commons against the unconstitutional actions of Charles I. The reason for his attitude was more akin to that of Wentworth than to that of Pym: his aim was not the supremacy of Parliament but co-operation between king and parliament, each being strong to do its own work and each co-operating with the other for the welfare of the State. Accordingly, the growing demands of the Commons alienated Hyde who, after the Grand Remonstrance of 1641, associated himself with the King. His faithfulness and the value of his advice to the Prince met its just reward at the Restoration: Hyde was made Lord Chancellor and Earl of Clarendon, and during the opening years of the reign was the ruling influence at Court.

Though this reward was just, Clarendon in several respects was a bad misfit. His long exile had put him out of personal touch with the trend of affairs in England; news of events reaching him abroad was carried by Royalists from whom he was not likely to obtain unbiased reports; more serious still, he was unable to judge the permanent difference that the Civil War and the Commonwealth had

made upon the relationship between king and parliament, and he aimed at putting back the clock to 1640. In personal character he was strong of will and upright of morals ; but, carrying both these traits to extremes, he lacked the tact necessary to a minister at such a juncture and became obnoxious to the lax Court of Charles II. Before long he began to grow unpopular with every class in the community : Charles, for all his indebtedness to Clarendon, grew bored with his moral homilies ; the royal favourites knew that the minister disapproved of their mode of life ; the Dissenters were injured by the " Code " of laws directed against them ; and to the extreme Royalists, Clarendon was too moderate. The marriage, in September, 1660, of his daughter Anne to James, Duke of York and heir-apparent to the throne, confirmed the popular idea that the minister was proudly ambitious, and before long he was hated by all and liked by none.

Convention Parliament.

The Convention Parliament, originally intended only to tide over the difficulties of the Restoration, continued to sit until December, 1660, and passed several notable measures which consisted mainly of carrying out the terms of the Declaration of Breda.

The *Act of Indemnity and Oblivion* gave a pardon to those who had fought against Charles I or had taken part in the Commonwealth Government. Exceptions were made of certain leaders : thirteen regicides were executed ; the bodies of Oliver Cromwell, Ireton, Bradshaw and Pride were exhumed and hanged ; and those of Pym and Blake were thrown out of Westminster Abbey. Thus the letter of Charles's promise of an amnesty was kept, the exceptions being those made by Parliament.

In dealing with the *Army*, the Convention took care not to repeat the blunder of the Long Parliament. Monk was created Duke of Albemarle, and the Army, having received arrears of pay in full, was disbanded. One regiment—

the Coldstreams—was retained and, being supplemented as need arose during the reign, became the nucleus of the future British Army.

One of the most thorny questions to be dealt with was that of *Land*. Early in the Civil War many Royalists had sold their lands in order to contribute the proceeds to the King's war-chest; as the war progressed, many royalist estates were confiscated by Parliament and others were sold for what little they would fetch in anticipation of being confiscated. The owners of all these estates naturally hoped that, now that the King was back on the throne, they would receive their lands again. But the matter was less simple than this. Many of the royalist estates had been sold and bought several times, and some had been split up and sold piecemeal, since their original sale or seizure. In such instances their present owners had bought them in good faith, and forcible restoration would cause widespread disaffection. Moreover, when a legal sale had taken place and all the relevant deeds were in order, the law had no option but to recognize the transaction; for in the eyes of the law a sale was not invalidated by a low price paid for the land. Finally a compromise was effected, the basis of which was that the legal status must hold good: lands that had been confiscated were to be restored to their original owners; lands that had been sold remained in the possession of their present holders. This entailed severe hardship on many individuals, but was the fairest general settlement that could have been made.

A new arrangement was made concerning the *royal revenue*. The King gave up numerous remaining feudal rights and dues, and was granted for life an income of £1,200,000. This sum was calculated as enough for his needs in time of peace; but as the taxes rarely yielded their estimated amount, and as Charles was extravagant, he would be compelled to summon Parliament frequently. In practice, as we shall see, Charles found other means

of supplementing his income, not the least remunerative being grants from Louis XIV of France.

Cavalier Parliament, 1661–1679.

Early in 1661 a new election took place. The country was swept by a violent wave of royalism, and a Parliament was returned having a great majority of extreme Royalists whose ambition was to restore the Crown and the Church to the position they had occupied before the Long Parliament. Indeed, the new Parliament, fitly known as the Cavalier Parliament, was more royalist than Charles II, who with great difficulty restrained its exuberance lest measures that were too extreme should provoke a reaction. In this policy he was warmly supported—or led—by Clarendon. Nevertheless, Charles recognized that never again would he have so loyal a Parliament and, as no law existed to limit the duration of a Parliament, he retained it for eighteen years and did not dissolve it until 1679.

Clarendon Code.

Three of the four clauses of the Declaration of Breda—those relating to an amnesty, the land settlement and the satisfaction of the Army—had been dealt with by the Convention Parliament, but the fourth—that relating to the Church—remained for settlement. To this problem the Cavalier Parliament addressed itself, its solution taking the form of a series of four Acts known collectively as the Clarendon Code because Clarendon was the chief minister and because his known desire for the restoration of the Anglican Church led the nation to conclude that he was the inspirer of the Statutes. In justice to Clarendon it must be said that the extreme and persecuting nature of the Code went beyond what he or Charles desired and was due solely to the vengeful spirit of the Cavalier Parliament.

The first of the measures was the *Corporation Act* of 1661, which enjoined that every member of a town cor-

poration should receive the Sacrament in the form laid down by the English Prayer Book, should swear to his belief in the doctrine of passive obedience, and should renounce the Covenant. The real object of the measure is understood when we remember that in most towns only corporation members had votes for the borough's parliamentary representatives; hence if the corporations were composed exclusively of cavalier Anglicans, they would return Members of similar views to Parliament.

In 1662 an *Act of Uniformity* required that every clergyman, every fellow of a college and every schoolmaster should accept the whole of the Prayer Book. Some two thousand clergymen refused the order and were ejected from their livings. Men who would pay this price for their convictions—whether those convictions were right or wrong—were likely to be men of high, strong character whom no church could afford to lose; and the secession of 1662 marks the beginning of nonconformity as we know it to-day. The Puritans no longer remained within the Church but, being thrust outside, formed separate churches of their own. In many instances the ejected clergyman remained in his former parish as the minister of a congregation of those who had followed him from the Church. Sometimes he was welcomed to the house of a wealthy parishioner where he acted as chaplain to the family and perhaps as tutor to the children.

This result was temporarily interfered with by the *Conventicle Act* of 1664 which forbade as conventicles all meetings for religious worship, except according to the Prayer Book, if more than four persons were present in addition to the members of one family. The penalties for infringement of the Act were extremely severe; for a third offence the punishment was transportation.

The "Code" was completed in 1665 by the *Five Mile Act*. During the Great Plague in London in that year, when all who were able to do so fled from the City, the ejected clergy remained in their former parishes ministering

to the needs of stricken folk and thus won widespread respect and favour. Parliament, determined to stem any reaction, therefore forbade any dissenting minister to approach within five miles of any corporate town or of his former parish. The ejected clergy were thus prevented from living in the only places where they were likely to be able to support themselves by the occupations for which alone they were fitted. The State may have been justified in requiring a uniform system of belief and services from the officials of the Established Church, but to pursue dissenting clergy after they had left the Church was religious persecution of the meanest kind.

Plague and Fire, 1665, 1666.

Mention was made above of the Great Plague of 1665. Plagues were common, especially in towns, during the Middle Ages and even later. Insanitary conditions of houses, absence of methods of preserving food, lack of variety in foods, ignorance about the elementary facts of medical science, and the failure to provide isolation for infected persons, all invited the spread of disease. Indeed, we marvel that anyone was left alive rather than that plagues were common. The London Plague of 1665 must not be thought of as an isolated or even as a specially severe phenomenon ; its chief significance was that it was the last of the great plagues to attack the City. The infection is supposed to have been brought by bales of merchandise from the East. The mortality was terrible : few of those who were attacked ever recovered ; within an hour or two of the first indication of the plague, the victim would probably be dead ; and when the scourge was at its height seven thousand people were dying weekly. For six months, from June till December, the visitation lasted. London became panic-stricken, and those who were able to afford the necessary time and money fled into the country. Samuel Pepys, in his famous *Diary*, has the following entries among others concerning the Plague :

7th June : This day, much against my will, I did in Drury Lane see two or three houses marked with a red cross upon the doors, and " Lord have mercy upon us ! " writ there ; which was a sad sight to me, being the first of the kind that, to my remembrance, I ever saw.

17th June : It struck me very deep this afternoon going with a hackney coach from Lord Treasurer's down Holborne, the coachman I found to drive easily and easily, at last stood still, and come down hardly able to stand, and told me that he suddenly struck very sick, and almost blind—he could not see ; so I 'light, and went into another coach, with a sad heart for the poor man and for myself also, lest he should have been struck with the plague.

10th August : By and by to the office, where we sat all the morning ; in great trouble to see the Bill this week rise so high, to above 4000 in all, and of them above 3000 of the plague. Home to draw over anew my will, which I had bound myself by oath to dispatch by tomorrow night ; the town growing so unhealthy, that a man cannot depend upon living two days.

12th August : The people die so, that now it seems they are fain to carry the dead to be buried by daylight, the nights not sufficing to do it in. And my Lord Mayor commands people to be within at nine at night all, as they say, that the sick may have liberty to go abroad for ayre. . . . I am told, too, that a wife of one of the grooms at Court is dead at Salisbury ; so that the King and Queen are speedily to be all gone to Wilton. So God preserve us !

16th October : I walked to the Tower ; but Lord ! how empty the streets are, and melancholy, so many poor, sick people in the streets full of sores ; and so many sad stories heard as I walk, everybody talking of this dead, and that man sick, and so many in this place and so many in that. And they tell me that, in Westminster, there is never a physician and but one apothecary left, all being dead ; but that there are great hopes of a great decrease this week : God send it !

In September of the following year another calamity visited the City. A fire broke out at the King's bakers in Pudding Lane near the river. A high wind carried the flames to neighbouring houses which, being built of wood and close together, at once caught alight and burned as if of matchwood. Before long the whole City seemed to be in flames. There were no adequate preparations for dealing with such a catastrophe, and the authorities were soon demented. Pepys tells us :

2nd September (Lord's Day) : The King commanded me to go to my Lord Mayor from him, and command him to spare no houses, but to pull down before the fire every way. . . . At last met my Lord Mayor in Canning Street, like a man spent, with a handkercher about his neck. To the King's message, he cried, like a fainting woman, "Lord! what can I do? I am spent: people will not obey me. I have been pulling down houses; but the fire overtakes us faster than we can do it." That he needed no more soldiers; and that, for himself, he must go and refresh himself, having been up all night.

Much of the credit for checking the Fire must go to the King, who personally directed the demolition of houses so as to make wide breaches which the flames could not leap. Before the Fire was extinguished it had destroyed ninety churches, including St. Paul's Cathedral, and nearly two-thirds of the houses of the City. A great opportunity thus presented itself for rebuilding the capital on a comprehensive plan. Sir Christopher Wren prepared an elaborate scheme whereby, ignoring the old landmarks, a new city might be erected with wide streets converging towards a new St. Paul's. Had this vision been realized, London would have been the noblest capital of Europe; but small prejudices were allowed to prevail, and though Wren built his new St. Paul's and a number of other churches, his larger scheme never materialized.

Charles II and Louis XIV.

We must now return to the closing events of Clarendon's régime. These were concerned mainly with foreign affairs. The foreign policy of the reign of Charles II was governed throughout by the King's admiration for Louis XIV. This attitude was not surprising: Louis was the cousin of Charles—the latter's mother, Henrietta Maria, having been the sister of Louis XIII and therefore the aunt of Louis XIV—and had given hospitality to the Prince during the Commonwealth. At the French Court Charles had seen the theory of Divine Right put into practice on a colossal scale, so that the absolutism of Louis XIV

became the model upon which Charles hoped to shape his own government. Later in the reign, Louis was able to use his great wealth in order to secure the alliance of England by making Charles independent of parliamentary grants.

Louis' anxiety for English support was due to his ambitious foreign projects. He aimed at extending the French frontier eastwards so as to make the Rhine her boundary. This would have made France the dominant Power on the Continent—a threat which brought him into conflict sooner or later with most of the great states of Europe. If Charles had had the vision of a statesman he would have seen that to no Power would such an extension of French territory be more threatening than to England, because the absorption of the Netherland coastline would have made France a continual menace to English naval supremacy; and a judicious alliance with Holland or some other interested state in 1660 would have prevented the costly and prolonged wars of the following half-century. But Charles, concerned only with the immediate present, pursued the policy of friendship with Louis and so defeated England's true interests abroad. In accordance with this policy, Charles in 1662 married Katherine of Braganza, sister of the King of Portugal who was Louis' ally, and gave his sister Henrietta in marriage to the Duke of Orleans, only brother of Louis XIV. As part of Katherine's dowry, Charles received Bombay—which in 1668 he gave to the East India Company—and Tangier. In November, 1662, Charles sold Dunkirk to France for £250,000 and thereby increased the friendship of Louis, but aroused great enmity at home, especially against Clarendon who was held responsible for the transaction. Actually, the sale was a wise one: Dunkirk harbour was almost useless to England, and Charles was unable to afford the maintenance of an efficient garrison there now that Tangier was in his hands, and Tangier was strategically by far the more valuable station.

First Dutch War, 1665-1667.¹

Charles's first conflict with the Dutch was an exception to the general foreign policy, outlined above, which developed as his reign proceeded, and was due not to alliance with Louis XIV but to trade rivalry between Dutch and English. Indeed, during part of the War France was the nominal ally of Holland. Both English and Dutch traders had interests in North America, India and Africa, and friction was produced whenever they met. In 1660 the Convention Parliament passed a *Navigation Act* which renewed the Act of 1651 and also forbade the export of certain goods (including tobacco) from any English colony except to England or another colony, and the import of any goods to a colony except from England. This further restriction of the Dutch carrying trade inflamed the relations between the two countries still more, so that continual skirmishes took place, and in 1664 hostilities in North America led to the capture of the Dutch town of *New Amsterdam* which—as a compliment to the King's brother James, who was in charge of the Admiralty—was re-named New York. Next year, England declared formal war against Holland.

In 1665, James Duke of York won a victory over the Dutch at *Lowestoft*; and in 1666 Monk and Rupert, after a desperate four-days battle off *the Dunes* were finally—though not very decisively—defeated by the Dutch Admirals de Ruyter and Van Tromp. England was fighting under a disadvantage: the Plague and the Fire had seriously disorganized her life and had diminished her economic resources. In 1667, lack of funds caused the English fleet to be partially laid up. Of this condition the Dutch took advantage and sent a fleet into the Thames estuary, burst into the Medway, bombarded Chatham and made their guns heard in London itself. Panic seized the

¹ Sometimes Cromwell's War (1652-1654) is reckoned as the First Dutch War; this of 1665-1667 as the Second; and that of 1672-1674 as the Third.

City ; peace became essential, and after only six weeks, the *Treaty of Breda* was concluded in July, 1667. By its terms, Holland acquired some disputed points in Asia and Africa ; Acadie (Nova Scotia) was recognized as French ; and New York and New Jersey were retained by England.

Fall of Clarendon.

The disgrace of the Dutch attack on the Thames was the climax of the general antagonism towards Clarendon who, as the chief minister of the State, was held responsible for the national humiliation. In August, 1667, he was dismissed from his office of Lord Chancellor, and, in order to escape the impeachment action which the Commons had initiated, had to flee to France, where he devoted himself, until his death in 1674, to writing his *History of the Great Rebellion*.

3. THE CABAL, 1667-1673

Membership.

When the news of Clarendon's fall became known, one of Charles's favourites is reputed to have exclaimed that " this was the first time that ever he could call him King of England, being freed from this great man ". Charles, not slow to appreciate this aspect of the situation, determined not to allow another of his subjects to hold the position of supremacy which Clarendon had been compelled to vacate. It became, indeed, his secret determination to establish in England a monarchy similar in essentials to that of Louis XIV ; that is, he determined to make himself independent of Parliament and to rule as an absolute monarch. For several years therefore he did not give his confidence to any single minister but, retaining in his own hands the direction of national policy, chose five men from the Privy Council as a committee to administer State business. These five were Sir Thomas Clifford ; Lord Arlington ; the Duke of Buckingham, the worthless

son of Charles I's favourite ; Ashley, better known by his later title of the first Earl of Shaftesbury ; and the Earl of Lauderdale, a Scottish peer who was made responsible for the affairs of his native country. By a curious coincidence the initial letters of these names formed the word "Cabal". The original meaning of the word "cabal" was "a private meeting" ; but the word henceforward has always meant "a secret, intriguing body".

The astuteness of Charles's action in thus choosing a committee instead of one minister is realized only when the principles of its members are examined in detail. Clifford and Arlington were Roman Catholics ; Buckingham, notwithstanding the dissipation of his life, patronized the Independents ; Ashley was a man of no religion but, as a champion of liberty, was strongly opposed to religious persecution and therefore supported the rights of Nonconformists ; and Lauderdale had been a Covenanter and still warmly sympathized with the Presbyterians, though, in order to retain the royal favour, he pretended to support Episcopacy. Thus not one of the Cabal members was really an Anglican, and all of them would be favourable to removing the disabilities which the law imposed upon Dissenters—for example, the disabilities imposed by the Clarendon Code.

This fact provides us with a key to the crafty scheme of Charles. He understood clearly that England would never submit without a struggle to the erection of an autocratic monarchy and that he would need the support of foreign troops. The obvious source of such help was Louis XIV. Hence Charles made a French alliance the basis of his policy, and the strength of Louis' religious opinions would mean that Charles's conversion to Roman Catholicism would be the surest method of cementing an alliance.

Triple Alliance, 1668.

At first, events seemed to be going in the opposite direction to that which the above forecast suggests. The

death of Philip IV of Spain in 1665 was used by Louis as providing an excuse for furthering his designs towards a Rhine frontier for France. He put forward a claim that, by virtue of an obscure local law of inheritance—known as the “Law of Devolution”—the Spanish Netherlands should be inherited by his wife who was the eldest daughter of Philip IV. After long arguments in favour of this pretext, in 1667 he sent an army into Flanders. Thus began the *War of Devolution*.

The Dutch became alarmed; the Spanish Netherlands would be powerless against Louis' forces, and the latter, having established themselves in the coveted territory, would almost certainly next attack Holland. England became hardly less alarmed than Holland, for if the ports around the Rhine delta were in the hands of the powerful Louis XIV, his position as a potential enemy of England would be extremely formidable. Accordingly early in 1668, Sir William Temple, the wise ambassador of England at The Hague, managed to negotiate a *Triple Alliance* of England, Holland and Sweden against possible French aggression. For the first two of these Powers, the Alliance signalized a complete change of policy, for hitherto they had been inclined towards friendship with France against Spain. Louis at once understood the danger, and in May he signed a peace with Spain, and the War of Devolution was thus brought to a speedy end. He next set to work to break up the Triple Alliance.

Treaty of Dover, 1670.

So far as England was concerned, this was not difficult. We have seen that Charles II had already determined to secure the friendship of Louis. By the middle of 1668 he had opened secret negotiations through his sister Henrietta, the Duchess of Orleans, for a French alliance. The discussions were very prolonged, but in May 1670 the Duchess and Charles met at Dover where the final terms were arranged. These were that Charles should support Louis

in a war against Holland; that Louis should pay to Charles large subsidies every year; and that Charles should declare himself a Roman Catholic "as soon as convenient" and should receive the help of French troops if necessary. Such was the Treaty of Dover which was to mark the first step towards the realization of Charles's project of absolutism.

The Treaty was secret, being known in England to the King and the Cabal only. Even the Cabal was not taken completely into the secret, for the last clause was revealed only to Clifford and Arlington who, as Roman Catholics, might be relied upon to keep the secret. But Ashley, the cleverest of the five, was not long in suspecting the truth—with what result will appear in due course.

The consequences of the Treaty of Dover gradually showed themselves. In 1671 Charles obtained from Parliament a grant of £800,000 for the navy which—it was supposed—would be used in the interests of the Triple Alliance. He then promptly prorogued Parliament and used the money for his own purposes. In January, 1672, he notified the London goldsmiths, who had advanced him large loans on the security of the taxes, that the payment of interest would be suspended for one year. This "stop of the Exchequer", added to the subsidy from Parliament, would assure to Charles a temporary independence of Parliament and so would enable him to begin to put his schemes into effect. The "stop" was nevertheless a short-sighted move: it ruined many business houses, thereby reducing the country's economic resources, and permanently undermined the credit of the Government.

Declaration of Indulgence, 1672.

The most notable of the immediate results of the Dutch War came on 15th March, 1672, when Charles issued his Declaration of Indulgence which suspended the laws against both Protestant and Roman Catholic Nonconformists. This measure of toleration had been warmly sup-

ported by Ashley, and he had aided the King in its preparation. As a reward he was created Earl of Shaftesbury. He little guessed how the King was fooling him! Charles intended the Indulgence as the first step towards declaring himself a Roman Catholic: it would test the religious susceptibilities of the nation and would show whether a further step would be safe. Charles calculated that the Declaration might definitely strengthen his position by securing the loyalty of Roman Catholics and Puritans, so that, if need be, he could face the opposition of the Anglicans. In this Charles erred. His own lack of deep religious conviction made him under-estimate the intensity of other men's convictions. The Protestant Dissenters, hating the Roman Catholics much more than they loved themselves, refused to accept toleration if Roman Catholics were granted similar freedom. Thus the people upon whose support Charles relied most confidently became his bitterest enemies. The result was the Test Act of 1673.

Before following the events leading to that Act we have to return to Charles's fulfilment of the other clause of the Treaty of Dover, namely, that he would support Louis in a war against the Dutch. On 17th March—two days after the issue of the Declaration of Indulgence—war was declared against Holland, and, at the same time, French armies advanced down the Rhine. Holland seemed about to be crushed between two millstones. The Dutch, panic-stricken, overthrew the peace party, headed by John de Witt (who was massacred by the populace), and set up William Prince of Orange as Stadtholder. This William was the descendant of William the Silent who a century earlier had saved the country from the Spaniards. Though only twenty-two years of age, William won the enthusiastic confidence of his subjects: the dykes were cut and the French invasion was stemmed. In June, 1672, off *Southwold* in Suffolk the combined English and French fleets, under the command of the Duke of York, claimed a victory over de Ruyter, but the result was not decisive, and during

the remainder of the War the Dutch held their own. Off *the Texel* in 1673 an English fleet was soundly beaten by de Ruyter. Meanwhile popular clamour against the War—which was realized as a Roman Catholic attack against a Protestant Power—was growing steadily. Charles had anticipated a speedy victory in conjunction with the French, and the length of the struggle exhausted his exchequer at a time when Louis, who was also feeling the strain of the War, had no subsidies to spare for him. In February, 1673, therefore, Charles had to re-assemble Parliament. This was still the Cavalier Parliament, but its members were too loyal to the Anglican Church to support the War. They refused to vote supplies, and in February, 1674, by the *Peace of Westminster* England withdrew from the War. This peace was negotiated by the King's new minister Danby, because before this time the Cabal had fallen.

Test Act, 1673.

We have now to complete the story of the Declaration of Indulgence. As soon as Parliament met in 1673 it attacked the Declaration so vehemently that before the end of February the Indulgence was withdrawn. By this time, Shaftesbury was becoming convinced that the Indulgence had been only a "blind" for Charles's promotion of Roman Catholicism and hence for the reversal of Shaftesbury's cherished ideal of toleration (the truth is supposed to have been revealed to him by Arlington who was jealous of Clifford). Inwardly fuming at having been so completely duped, he began to oppose the royal party. To this change of attitude he was further inclined by his belief that Charles was playing too dangerous a game and would probably end up where his father had ended; and Shaftesbury was not the man to be on the losing side.

Parliament, not content with the withdrawal of the Declaration of Indulgence, proceeded to take the offensive against Roman Catholicism. In 1673 a measure which was to be known as the Test Act was introduced. It enacted

that every person holding office under the Crown should take the Sacrament according to the usage of the Anglican Church and should make a public declaration against Transubstantiation, which was the doctrine that characterized Roman Catholicism and distinguished it from Protestantism.

The immediate effect was to disqualify a number of occupants of high office. The Duke of York resigned from the Admiralty, and Clifford from the Lord Treasurership. Clifford's fall began the break-up of the Cabal. This process was completed when, in November, 1673, Shaftesbury was dismissed from the Lord Chancellorship because he had favoured the Test Act, and, in 1674, Buckingham and Arlington followed him. Lauderdale alone remained in office. The end of the Cabal was the sign that Charles's bid for absolutism, based on the Treaty of Dover, had failed. Fortunately for him, he had wit enough to appreciate the facts and to be content henceforth to govern, nominally at least, according to the accepted rules of the constitution.

4. DANBY, 1673-1678

Danby's Position.

Charles reverted to the usual policy of entrusting the chief office to one minister. The man he selected was Sir Thomas Osborne who, as one of the outstanding figures of the Commons, was likely to bring to the King the confidence of Parliament. Osborne was given office as Lord Treasurer and in 1674 was raised to the peerage with the title of Earl of Danby. Danby's policy was essentially that of Clarendon: he reverted to the idea of making the Established Church the chief bulwark of the Crown and to the enforcement of the laws against Roman Catholics and against Protestant Dissenters.

Danby's appointment as chief minister did not mean that in every respect he and the King were in agreement or that Charles gave to his minister his complete confidence.

Repeatedly, while Danby was carrying out a policy upon which he and the King had agreed, Charles was secretly intriguing with someone else. Thus Danby, as a strong Protestant, favoured an alliance with Holland against France, and Charles allowed him innocently to pursue this policy so as to keep England quiet while Charles himself was professing friendship with Louis from whom subsidies continued to be paid. The period of Danby's ministry is therefore full of complications. These were increased by Louis XIV's intrigues on his own account: Charles would try to induce Louis to pay subsidies by threatening to call a Parliament which would promptly demand war against France; so Louis secretly bribed the Opposition in Parliament so that when the House met he had nothing to fear. These moves and counter-moves were too intricate for us to follow in detail, and we must limit ourselves to an outline of a few outstanding events only.

Shaftesbury and the Opposition.

Shaftesbury was not the man to take defeat lying down, and as soon as he was dismissed he began to seek revenge against the King, whom he had never forgiven for duping him over the Dover Treaty and the Declaration of Indulgence. His plan was to hamper the Government by every means that he could devise. In 1675 the *Green Ribbon Club* was founded with Shaftesbury as its President and became the centre of the activities of an influential and increasingly numerous body of men who shared Shaftesbury's political views. The Club was the first example in English history of a regularly organized political body. Within the secrecy of its walls, plans for parliamentary action and for influencing the London mob were thoroughly worked out.

Mary marries William of Orange.

The effect in Parliament was soon plain. Two definite parties took shape, namely, the Court Party (corresponding

to a modern Ministry) and the Country Party (corresponding to the Opposition). The object of the latter was to oppose every move of the King's ministers and to pursue the policy of toleration for Protestant Nonconformists and of anti-Popery. This latter item implied opposition to France; in one direction it was useful to Charles, for he was able on several occasions to induce Louis to pay him substantial subsidies to prorogue Parliament and so to secure English neutrality against Holland.

A concrete example of the kind of intrigues that were pursued occurred in November, 1677, when Charles gave his consent to a project which Danby very strongly favoured, namely the marriage of the Duke of York's elder daughter Mary to William III of Orange. Danby's object was to cement an Anglo-Dutch alliance and to make a breach between England and France. The King's object was to teach Louis not to take Charles's subservience for granted. The marriage was followed by an English alliance with Holland, and war against France seemed imminent. Charles, however, having no intention of allowing matters to go to such an extreme, in March, 1678, negotiated with Louis through Danby who, fearful of losing office, wrote in the King's name asking for French subsidies. This letter, as we shall see, Louis used for his own purposes; but at the moment he paid a substantial sum and Charles broke from the Dutch alliance.

Popish Plot, 1678.

In the autumn of 1678 there burst over England a strange phenomenon which threw the whole nation into confusion and presented to the Country Party exactly the opportunity it needed to carry its no-Popery policy to a triumphal issue. In September a certain *Titus Oates* began to declare his knowledge of a vast plot for the forcible introduction of Roman Catholicism into England. Oates proved to be the most disreputable of scoundrels. After an infamous youth, he had been a clergyman in the Church of England

whence he had professed conversion to Roman Catholicism. After this he had been an inmate of various Jesuit colleges, the last being at St. Omer where he apparently heard rumours of Rome's desire to recapture England and of Louis XIV's being the instrument to that end. On the basis of such talk, Oates began to declare the existence of a Romanist plot to kill Charles, massacre Protestants generally, and enthrone the Duke of York, the whole being carried through with the help of French troops. In order to add solemnity to the story, he consented to lay a sworn deposition before a highly respected London magistrate named Sir Edmund Berry Godfrey. Oates was then examined before the Privy Council. During the cross-questioning, Charles caught Oates in several falsehoods, and the whole matter would probably have been allowed to die down had not two incidents taken place to give to the plot just the advertisement it needed. First, when Oates was questioned as to the names of people implicated in the plot, he cited Coleman, the Jesuit secretary of the Duchess of York. On Coleman's rooms being searched, some highly incriminating papers were found in the chimney, and, as these were all two years old or over, the presumption was that later and still more incriminating correspondence had been destroyed. Second, a few days later Godfrey was found murdered in a ditch outside London. To the credulous public, already rendered nervous by rumours of Charles's connection with Louis and by the growing Roman Catholicism of the royal household, the obvious conclusion was that the murder was the work of Jesuits who wished to suppress evidence which Godfrey possessed.

Shaftesbury and the other members of the Green Ribbon Club seized upon the supposed plot as the very opportunity they had sought to discredit the Roman Catholicism of the Court and to break up Charles's connection with France. Not only in London but also through the medium of branches in all the large towns, the Club used all the

artifices it knew in order to stir up the mob. The whole country seethed with excitement. Titus Oates became a national hero and, as the saviour of his fellow-Protestants, was accorded a handsome pension. On the bare word of his accusation, and without the support of a shred of legal evidence, a score of Roman Catholics were put to death and many others were imprisoned. The profit that Oates was making out of the business attracted many imitators who told still more gruesome yarns. Oates, not to be outdone, improved upon his original effort until the people were on the verge of madness.

To what extent leaders like Shaftesbury really believed in the plot is doubtful; but we must remember that they knew of Charles's dealings with Louis and of the Duke of York's Romanism, that they suspected (and with reason) much more than they knew, that they remembered the Marian persecution and the Fire of London (which was popularly supposed to have been the work of the Roman Catholics). The only man who could have proved the story false was the King, and he was afraid to do so lest he should be suspected of trying to hide his Jesuitical dealings.

Cavalier Parliament Dissolved.

In November, 1678, the Cavalier Parliament met for what proved to be its last session. Shaftesbury used the national ferment in order to bring pressure to bear upon the King and the Court Party. A *Disabling Act*, immediately introduced and rapidly passed, excluded Roman Catholics from both Houses of Parliament, only the Duke of York being exempted. This Statute remained in force until the Roman Catholic Emancipation Act of 1829.

The material for the next victory of the Country Party had an unexpected source. Louis XIV, who disliked Danby because of the latter's anti-French policy which had expressed itself especially in the marriage between William of Orange and the Princess Mary, decided to use the Opposition in order to wreck the minister. He there-

fore revealed to Shaftesbury the letter which in March Danby had written asking for subsidies. The tangible evidence thus provided of the Court's shameful intrigues with Roman Catholic France, coming at the height of the Popish Plot turmoil, produced such an uproar that Danby was forthwith impeached. The change of attitude which this motion displayed in the Cavalier Parliament was a significant index of the depth of feeling in the country generally. Charles's action in the crisis might well prove to be the turning-point in the reign. He was faced with a dilemma: to resist the impeachment of his minister would provoke an outburst of violent opposition among all classes; and, on the other hand, to allow the impeachment to proceed would encourage further attacks on his prerogatives.

The King's answer to the problem was, in January, 1679, to save Danby by dissolving Parliament. Thus Shaftesbury's party had achieved one of the chief items of its programme; for never again would the country return a Parliament so thoroughly loyal to the Court as the Cavalier Parliament had been when it had met in 1661.

5. THREE WHIG PARLIAMENTS, 1679-1681

Danby Impeached.

Shaftesbury's anticipation was amply fulfilled. The new Parliament, which met in March, 1679, proved to be overwhelmingly anti-Catholic. Its first action was to renew the impeachment of Danby. Charles did his utmost to shield his minister by first according him a royal pardon and then dismissing him from the Treasury. But the Commons were inexorable. Danby put up the plea that the offending letter to Louis had been written by the express command of the King; to which the Commons replied that the person responsible for every action of State was not the King but the appropriate minister. Finally, Danby was committed to the Tower, where he remained

for several years. Apart from the defeat of the Court Party which this imprisonment involved, its permanent significance was its establishment of the principle that ministers of State were responsible not to the monarch but to Parliament. Thus was settled one of the primary causes of the dispute which had led to the Civil War.

Temple's Privy Council.

An interesting constitutional experiment made during this second Parliament of the reign was a scheme drawn up by Sir William Temple for the reform of the Privy Council. Temple's view was that the friction between King and Parliament would be minimized if there existed some intermediary body which was so constituted as to have the confidence of both alike. For this purpose he suggested the remodelling of the Privy Council. Henceforward the Privy Council was to consist of thirty members, of whom fifteen were to be ministers, and fifteen members chosen from both parties in Parliament. The scheme was actually put into practice ; but the body of thirty proved too large for an efficient committee, and Charles was soon consulting only a small inner ring of the Privy Council. Temple's scheme was, nevertheless, an interesting forerunner of the Cabinet which developed half a century later during the ministry of Sir Robert Walpole (1721-1742).

Exclusion Bill.

The matter of more immediate importance in the second Parliament was the commencement of the struggle over the Exclusion Bill. The Opposition determined to press their advantage to the full, and in the middle of May they introduced a Bill to exclude the Duke of York from the succession to the throne, and the measure passed its second reading in the Commons. Charles, both then and throughout the remainder of his reign, set his face resolutely against James's exclusion, and before May was out he had prorogued Parliament, which he finally dissolved in July.

One measure which Shaftesbury managed to get passed was the *Habeas Corpus Act*. By about the thirteenth century the custom had been established that any man could obtain, or his friends could obtain for him, from the King's Bench, a writ of "Habeas Corpus" which compelled the gaoler to "have his body" into court for trial. The Statute of 1679 transformed this tradition into a law by enacting that every man accused of crime except of treason or felony, could obtain a writ of Habeas Corpus and must be tried within twenty days of the time of the writ.

Whigs and Tories.

The end of the Parliament meant also the end of Charles's financial resources, for Louis XIV was still working with the Opposition and against Charles. A fresh general election was therefore held, but the resulting Parliament was so strongly opposed to the Court that on the day it should have met (7th October, 1679) Charles prorogued it. During the months which followed, the supporters of the Exclusion Bill repeatedly petitioned the King to summon Parliament, such supporters becoming known as "Petitioners". The opponents of the Bill sent to the King counter-addresses expressing abhorrence of the petitions and became consequently known as "Abhorrrers". Soon each of the two groups was known by a nickname. The royalists applied to the Petitioners the label of "Whigs", a shortened form of the word "Whiggamores", which was the name of a set of extreme Scottish Covenanters then in revolt against the Government. In retaliation the "Abhorrrers" were called "Tories", this being the name of some Irish Roman Catholic outlaws. These two labels of Whig and Tory stuck for nearly a century and a quarter after their original meaning had been forgotten. Shaftesbury's action in organizing a regular opposition to the King's government had thus resulted in founding the parties out of which in the following century the English

two-party system was shaped. This alone made possible the Cabinet which is the heart of the British governmental system.

Duke of Monmouth.

Meanwhile the Whigs were having dealings with the Duke of Monmouth, an illegitimate son of Charles II, and finally they decided, in demanding the exclusion of James, to urge that the King should recognize Monmouth as his successor. When the Parliament at last met, in October, 1680, this was the policy which they advocated. A second Exclusion Bill was introduced and was passed by the Commons. But in the Lords a number of Whig peers who disliked the Monmouth policy spoke and voted against the Bill, which was consequently defeated. Charles, judging that the right moment had come to strike, dissolved Parliament. Thus, in January, 1681, ended the second of the three short Whig Parliaments.

Oxford Parliament, March, 1681.

Writs were issued for a new Parliament to meet on 21st March ; but the temper of the Londoners, who were under the influence of the Green Ribbon agents, was so hostile that Charles decided to call the Parliament to a more loyal town. Oxford was the place selected, and the members assembled in Christ Church Hall. The King had two advantages as he went to meet the new House. First, he had managed to negotiate a new secret treaty with Louis XIV whereby the latter undertook to pay substantial annual subsidies so that Parliament need not be called. Second, in the country generally the popular belief in Titus Oates was beginning to wane, and this would almost certainly lead to an anti-Whig reaction. Time was therefore on the side of the King. If he could survive the opposition of the Parliament at Oxford, his prospects would improve.

This Parliament was the supreme crisis of Charles II's

reign. Both parties, realizing the crucial nature of the occasion, arrived fully armed. The Whigs, believing the nation was behind them in opposing the King's repeated thwarting of Parliament, were confident of victory. Led by Lord Shaftesbury, they renewed the proposal to exclude the Duke of York from the succession. Once more Charles was adamant in resisting the recognition of Monmouth as his successor to the exclusion of James. This unbending attitude by both sides could end in only one way, especially between men already armed, and civil war seemed once more to be imminent. The outcome showed that the Whigs had over-reached themselves: when the nation found itself threatened by a renewal of armed strife, it shrank from the issue, preferring a Roman Catholic heir rather than a civil war.

Charles II never showed the astuteness of his statecraft to greater advantage than in this crisis. With his finger upon the pulse of the people, he sensed the first sign of a weakening in their opposition. Then, striking suddenly, the King dismissed Parliament after it had been in session only a week. The Whigs, taken completely by surprise, were left high and dry. The King and the Tories quickly left Oxford, and their opponents had no option but to follow their example. At a stroke, the political situation had been transformed: Charles was undisputed master in the State. For the remaining four years of his life he was an absolute monarch dependent only upon Louis XIV, whence came the necessary subsidies to avoid summoning another parliament.

6. CHARLES II, AN ABSOLUTE KING, 1681-1685

Shaftesbury's Death.

Charles now thought to encourage and to profit by the anti-Whig reaction by pursuing his enemies. In July, 1681, Shaftesbury was accused of treason, but the London jury before whom he was tried, being still zealously Whig,

acquitted him. Charles, determined to prevent a repetition of such a rebuff, interfered with the election of Sheriffs for the City of London so as to secure the return of Tories ; the significance of this move was that the Sheriffs nominated juries. Further, the charter of London was confiscated, and similar interference took place in other parts of the country. Some of the Whigs, seeing one of their chief weapons slipping from their hands, began to discuss the possibilities of insurrection. In this policy Shaftesbury was the leader, but he was not supported by the other leaders of his party and, believing his life to be threatened, he fled to Holland, where he stayed until his death in January, 1683.

Shaftesbury's death amid defeat seemed to discredit his policy and to prove that, in reckoning upon popular opposition to the King, he had miscalculated the forces at work. But the future showed that Shaftesbury's miscalculation was of details only and not of principles : he underestimated the resources of the King at one particular moment, but when the temporary advantage which Charles II had gained was later thrown away by James II, it was Shaftesbury's followers, the Whigs, who were chiefly instrumental in ejecting the Roman Catholic James and in bringing the Protestant William of Orange. Thus, ultimately Shaftesbury's policy triumphed, though its author did not live to see the day.

Rye House Plot.

For the moment the Whigs were foiled, but others took up the opposition to the King. Early in 1683 a group of desperadoes, chiefly old Parliamentary soldiers, schemed to waylay Charles at Rye House in Hertfordshire when he was returning from Newmarket to London in April. The plan was wrecked by the King's returning earlier than was expected ; but in June the plot was betrayed, and the King used the information as an excuse for getting rid of the most dangerous of his enemies. Leading Whigs—

notably Algernon Sidney, Lord Russell and Lord Essex—were imprisoned and tried for complicity in the plot. The extent to which they were involved in the Rye House Plot was never definitely established; but they had certainly had dealings with the real culprits, and this was sufficient to condemn them in the minds of Tory juries. In July, Sidney and Russell were executed and Essex committed suicide.

About the remaining two years of the reign there is little to relate. The Whig party had been scattered and Charles was as absolute a monarch as ever in his wildest dreams he could have hoped to be. Yet his absolutism was of a character entirely different from that which he had planned, for, instead of being based upon Roman Catholic support, its bulwark was the Established Church. Moreover, though the Whigs had ceased to count, neither their party nor their principles of toleration and of a constitutional monarchy had ceased to exist.

Charles preserved his spirit of mockery to the end: though his crown had depended upon the loyalty of the Anglicans, on his death-bed he received the last rites administered by a priest of the Roman Catholic Church. To what extent this act represented the King's settled religious convictions—if he can be imagined as possessing such convictions—is not easy to determine. The fact remains that on 6th February, 1685, Charles II died in the Roman Catholic faith.

For a King to die a Roman Catholic was not difficult: the next reign was to show that for an English King to live a Roman Catholic was less easy.

7. INTELLECTUAL LIFE

One notable feature of Restoration England was the outburst of new intellectual life. The reign of Charles II can present a list of distinguished men of arts and science such as any generation would be proud of.

John Milton, 1608–1674.

Among the writers of the day the most outstanding was John Milton. Although Milton was born in the reign of James I and occupied a prominent place during the Commonwealth, the work which, above everything else, puts him in the front rank of English poets was done after the Restoration.

The characteristics of his manhood are traceable to his home, which was that of Puritans who were devoted to fine literature. As a child he learned Latin, Greek and Hebrew, and became familiar with the works of Spenser and Shakespeare. His education was obtained at St. Paul's School, which Colet had founded, and at Cambridge. His *Comus*, *Lycidas*, *L'Allegro* and *Il Penseroso*, all written soon after he left Cambridge, won him recognition as a poet. During the quarrel between King and Parliament, while other Puritans devoted their swords to the support of the Parliamentary cause, Milton devoted his pen, and his prose works then began to appear. He wrote articles and pamphlets explaining the rights which Parliament claimed and demanding liberty of the Press.

Cromwell showed his appreciation of Milton's work by appointing the poet to be his Latin Secretary, and it was the eye-strain which this office entailed that was responsible for Milton's blindness.

At the Restoration, Milton's life was in jeopardy. He was imprisoned for some time, but was afterwards released. The remainder of his life he spent studying and composing poetry. In this work he was assisted by the devoted skill of his daughters, upon whom his blindness made him dependent. His most famous work, *Paradise Lost*, published in 1667, still ranks as among the few greatest poems—and perhaps as the greatest poem—in the English language. A few years later it was followed by *Paradise Regained* and *Samson Agonistes*.

Milton serves as an illustration of Puritanism at its best :

unswerving devotion to a simple faith combined with a trained appreciation of the noblest art. If we are apt to think of the Puritans as crude and peculiar extremists, we do well to adjust our conception of them by remembering that though such men did exist—as they do in every movement—they were exceptional and that true Puritanism was exemplified not by them but by John Milton.

John Bunyan, 1628–1688.

Another Puritan writer, of a type very different from Milton, was John Bunyan. His home was that of a Bedford tinker. As a youth, Bunyan led a wild life but, becoming troubled about the state of his soul, he gradually underwent a change, and when about thirty years of age he began preaching in the villages around Bedford.

With the Restoration, the way of Puritans became hard and, under the Clarendon Code, Bunyan was imprisoned in Bedford gaol from 1660 till 1672. There he was allowed to occupy his time in two ways: he made laces so as to help to support his family, and—if tradition is to be relied upon—he wrote the greatest of all his books, namely, *The Pilgrim's Progress*, which has done more to form the English language and to interest generations of Englishmen than any other book, excepting only the Authorized Version of the Bible.

This work reveals in the author a mind and an outlook on life quite unlike those of Milton. Bunyan was no scholar, in the narrow sense of that word, but he shows an amazing insight into the motives of human conduct and a keen concern for what to him were the deepest needs of his fellows. That a man of such humble origin and with so crude an early environment, could develop the imagination and the style of Bunyan is a convincing proof of the refining influence of Puritanism.

John Dryden, 1631–1700.

A Restoration writer of a calibre different from that of either of his great contemporaries was John Dryden: a

playwright and a writer of satirical poems. His most famous poem was *Absalom and Achitophel* which, under the guise of a Bible story, was an elaborate sarcasm on Shaftesbury as the seducer of the King's son. But whereas the work of Milton and of Bunyan had the supreme quality of all great literature, namely, that it lived on after the circumstances which gave rise to it had passed, Dryden's writing had the characteristics of style and morals which made it significant for its own generation alone.

Sir Isaac Newton, 1642-1727.

Mention has been made already of *Sir Christopher Wren* (1632-1723), the great architect of Restoration England and one of the greatest English architects of all time. Alongside him we have to place Sir Isaac Newton, whose contributions to mathematics place him in the front rank of scientists of all ages. After prolonged experiments, in 1687 Newton published his *Principia*, in which he propounded theories on the composition of light and the Law of Gravitation which have formed the basis of all subsequent inquiry in those realms.

Much of Newton's work was done in connection with the *Royal Society* which was an institution founded by Charles II in 1662 for the promotion of scientific investigation. That Society still continues to live up to its original purpose. In 1703, Newton was made President of the Royal Society, a position to which he was elected every year afterwards until his death nearly a quarter of a century later.

These achievements in the literary and scientific worlds, though not creating a great general stir in their own day, have influenced the lives of succeeding generations at least as profoundly as have the political events by which they were over-shadowed.

CHAPTER XVI

JAMES II, 1685-1688

I. JAMES II AND HIS POLICY

James's Character.

WHEN James II ascended the throne in February, 1685, little was known of him by the mass of his subjects except that he had been diligent and reasonably efficient as head of the Admiralty, and that he was a convinced Roman Catholic. Though the new King's religion aroused suspicion in some quarters, two factors prevented any general opposition on that account: first, as Duke of York James had exercised his religion privately and unostentatiously, and the assumption was that he would continue to do so; second, any fears that remained were allayed by James's promise, made to the Privy Council immediately after Charles's death, "to preserve this government in Church and State, as it is now by law established". Moreover, the anti-Whig reaction following the defeat of the Bill to exclude James from the throne had brought him considerable popularity which still clung to him at the moment of his accession. If James had had the wisdom to use this popularity as the basis of his power and, during the opening years of his reign, to act so as to increase it, he might have enjoyed a long spell of real power. James had other advantages which, a quarter of a century earlier, his brother had not possessed: the political situation had become stabilized; James succeeded to a standing army; and, being fifty-three years

of age, he had long been intimately in touch with the details and personages of politics.

Yet the strange fact remains that, whereas Charles II reigned for twenty-five years—and apparently would have continued to reign for many years further had not sudden death intervened—James II, within less than four years of his accession, had not only lost his throne but had raised so general an opposition that no party could be found to take up the cudgels on his behalf. The explanation in this turn in events is to be found in the character of the King himself. He was intellectually so blind that, in spite of his experience, he had altogether failed to appreciate the significance of the events of his brother's reign. Those events proved conclusively that the greatest bulwark which the Crown possessed was the Anglican Church and that any attempt even to grant toleration to Roman Catholicism would awake national antagonism. Charles II had succeeded in establishing his supremacy only when, in the latter part of his reign, he had recognized those two facts. Yet James, far less astute and quick-witted than his brother, aimed at making himself an absolute monarch by reversing both of them: he intended to restore Roman Catholicism, at least as a favoured religion, and if possible as the established religion of the State. Indeed, James was so blind to the realities of the situation that he imagined that the High Church party was not far removed, in its views, from Roman Catholicism and, without much difficulty, could be won over to the latter faith.

Perhaps James's outstanding characteristic was his obstinacy. This was shown in the persistence with which, despite the lessons of the past and the signs of his own day, he pursued his religious objects. In politics his obstinacy was equally marked. Charles II's experience—with which James was thoroughly familiar—had been that there were two alternative sources of royal revenue, namely, Parliament and Louis XIV. In the last resort,

James lost his throne because he would neither accept grants on Parliament's terms nor become the pensioner of Louis XIV.

We may thus summarize James's policy: to establish himself as an absolute king, and to restore Roman Catholicism in England. These were not two separate aims but were so wedded together as to form, in James's mind, one and the same object.

Parliament: First Session.

The nature of the King and of his objects meant of necessity that his relationship with Parliament was not likely to be very cordial. Only one parliament met during the whole reign, and this was probably the most loyal parliament that any Stuart was ever fortunate to possess. James's own verdict was that "there was not more than forty members but such as he wished for". This was due partly to Charles II's interference with the composition of borough corporations—these being the bodies that generally elected the borough Members of Parliament—and partly to James's own popularity.

The first session of Parliament opened in May, 1685. It granted to James for life the same taxes as those of Charles II; to these it added yet further taxes calculated to yield £500,000 annually. James's total income thus amounted to £1,900,000. Such an amount would suffice for all ordinary peace-time expenditure, and so, for the rest of his reign, would render him independent of Parliament and of Louis XIV.

This typified the relationship of the King and Parliament during the latter's first session. The harmony between them on every subject was complete, and Parliament was prorogued in July only so that the Government could give all its attention to a rebellion which had broken out in the west of England.

2. MONMOUTH'S REBELLION, 1685

Character of Rising.

This rebellion was headed by the Duke of Monmouth.¹ The latter, during the closing period of Charles II's reign, had taken refuge in Holland but, on the accession of James II, he was ordered by the Stadtholder, William of Orange, to leave the country. Accordingly, in June, Monmouth landed at Lyme Regis. Claiming to be the champion of Protestantism, he called for recruits to defend that faith; later, at Taunton, he proclaimed himself King. The country-folk gathered to his standard some five thousand strong, but the Whig leaders remained aloof and there was no sign of a general revolt in the rest of the country. Monmouth's most serious handicap was himself: his handsome appearance and engaging manners made him a popular leader, but his vacillating mind and will made ultimate success almost impossible. Thus, his first project was to attack Bristol; but when he realized the futility of such an operation while he had only country people, armed, for the most part, with scythes and similar implements, he changed the direction of his expedition and marched first into Wiltshire and then back into Somerset, having achieved nothing.

Battle of Sedgemoor, July, 1685.

Meanwhile the royal forces had been advancing westwards. They camped at Sedgemoor, and there the rebels tried to surprise them by a night attack. The operation was almost successful, but at the critical point in the movement a wide ditch unexpectedly barred their way and gave the regular troops time to prepare themselves. In the engagement the peasants showed the utmost bravery: though without the slightest chance of victory, they withstood unflinchingly the attacks of the soldiers and were

¹ Chapter XV, Section 5.

gradually mown down. Only a last remnant broke and fled in wild disorder.

Two days after the battle Monmouth himself was discovered hiding in a ditch, whence he was taken to London. An Act of Attainder had already been passed against him, and nothing remained but for the law to take its course. After somewhat cravenly pleading for his life, Monmouth met his end bravely and was executed a week after his capture.

Bloody Assizes.

The rebellion was followed by one of the most terrible exhibitions of brutality in English history. First, a body of troops, returned from Tangier and under the command of Colonel Kirke, hunted down Monmouth's fugitive followers and, after a farcical court-martial, hanged them in batches throughout the West Country. These proceedings won for the troops the derisive title of "Kirke's Lambs".

Even more revolting was the pretence at justice that followed. Chief Justice Jeffreys was selected to take the Western Circuit and to try the prisoners who had escaped "Kirke's Lambs". Jeffreys well understood what was expected of him. He went outside his proper sphere and cowed the unhappy men brought before him by working himself up into uncontrollable fury and then denouncing them in the coarsest of language. The first sentence he imposed was typical: an old lady was condemned to be burned for no worse offence than sheltering fugitives—a punishment quite irregular and "commuted" to one of execution. During these "Bloody Assizes", three hundred people were hanged and nearly nine hundred transported and sold as slaves to West Indian planters. James II's approval of these horrors was proved beyond doubt by his rewarding Jeffreys with the office of Lord Chancellor.

3. JAMES'S ROMAN CATHOLIC TYRANNY.

The defeat of Monmouth, who had been the Protestant champion, made James bold to push on with his aim of

restoring Roman Catholicism as the established religion of England. The spirit in which he was likely to pursue this object had been foreshadowed by his treatment of Titus Oates. In May, 1685, Oates was put on trial for perjury and, being found guilty, was condemned to receive three thousand four hundred lashes in three days while being dragged around the London streets. The punishment was certainly intended to be fatal ; but Oates defied his enemies by somehow surviving the horrible ordeal. Finally, after the Revolution, he was rewarded by the Whigs with a pension. That Oates was a rascal reaping the due reward of punishments he had been instrumental in bringing upon others was in one sense true ; but the brutality of the sentence showed what might be expected by the opponents of Roman Catholicism, and this impression was confirmed by the Bloody Assizes later in the same year.

Standing Army.

James's first step towards establishing Roman Catholicism and his own despotism was to organize a loyal standing army large enough to suppress any opposition.) Charles had bequeathed to James forces numbering about six thousand. Monmouth's Rebellion provided James with an excuse for adding to these troops, and soon he had increased his army until it was nearly thirty thousand strong. Nor was this all. In spite of the Test Act, a large proportion of the commissions in this army was given to Roman Catholics. Before long a camp of thirteen thousand men was set up on Hounslow Heath, the only possible object of such a force being to overawe London whose opposition to Stuart despotism dated back to the reign of Charles I and more recently had been organized by the Whigs.

The effect of these army measures was seen when Parliament, whose sessions had been interrupted by Monmouth's Rebellion, met again in November, 1685. Though most of its Members were loyal Tories they were also staunch Anglicans, and James was soon to discover his error in

supposing that they were on the borderline of Roman Catholicism. Both in Lords and Commons, the King's appointment of Roman Catholic officers was warmly denounced. The Commons voted that discussion on the use of the Dispensing Power to infringe the Test Act should precede grants of supplies. After the debates had continued for some days the King prorogued Parliament, thus losing his supplies. He therefore had to face the problem of how he would maintain his army without parliamentary grants.

Toleration.

In respect of civil offices James acted on the same principle as with the army. In June, 1686, a test case was brought into the courts. *Sir Edward Hales* was a Roman Catholic who had been granted a commission in the army, and the Court of King's Bench gave judgment that the King's Prerogative allowed him to dispense with laws in particular cases. Acting upon this decision, James not only appointed more Roman Catholics as officers in the army but nominated them to other positions also.

(In July, 1686, he established the *Court of Ecclesiastical Commission* which was virtually a revival of the Court of High Commission that had been abolished in 1641. The President of the Court was Jeffreys and its business was to promote Roman Catholicism in the Church.) An indication of its purpose was afforded by its inquiry into the conduct of Bishop Compton of London, who in the House of Lords had resisted breaches in the Test Act and who had not prevented a clergyman of his diocese from preaching against Roman Catholicism: the upshot was that Compton was suspended from his Bishopric.

First Declaration of Indulgence.

James's next move was to claim the use not only of the Dispensing Power (that is, the right to exempt particular individuals from the application of Acts of Parliament) but

also of the Suspending Power (that is, the right to suspend the general operation of an Act). In April, 1687, he issued his first Declaration of Indulgence which granted liberty of public worship to all Nonconformists, both Protestant and Roman Catholic, and removed the necessity of religious tests from entrants upon office under the Crown. This latter clause implied a complete suspension of the Test Act and made the Declaration a more far-reaching measure than Charles II's Declaration of 1672.) The advice to follow this course had been tendered to James from an unlikely source, namely, William Penn, the great Quaker leader, who five years earlier had founded in America the colony of Pennsylvania primarily as a refuge for Quakers but in which full toleration was given to other sects. Though a strange contrast to the rest of the courtiers, Penn had enjoyed the confidence of Charles II and retained that of James also. The latter, impressed that the suggestion of freedom of worship came from Penn, hoped that the Declaration would win the support of the Protestant Dissenters. This hope received but little more confirmation than had that of his brother fifteen years earlier: the Protestant Dissenters regarded their new freedom suspiciously not only because they had to share it with Roman Catholics but because, knowing full well that James had no good will towards them, they feared what his next step might be. The only real result of the Declaration was that James lost the support of the one religious body upon whom he and his family had been able to rely implicitly, namely, the Anglicans.

Universities.

(In James's attempts to promote Roman Catholicism, no step was more misguided than his attack on the universities.) Oxford especially had consistently supported the Stuarts. It was Oxford which had been Charles I's headquarters during the Civil War and it was to Oxford that Charles II successfully summoned Parliament when, at the crisis of

his reign, the nation was on the verge of revolt. Cambridge was hardly less loyal than Oxford. Yet James seemed deliberately to go out of his way in order to provoke the hostility of the universities. (In May, 1687, the Court of Ecclesiastical Commission removed from office the Vice-Chancellor of Cambridge because he had refused to obey the King's orders to admit a Benedictine monk to the degree of Master of Arts.) In 1687, also, the Fellows of Magdalen College, Oxford, were expelled because they firmly refused to elect as College President either of two Roman Catholics whom James had successively nominated to the position.

✓ **Second Declaration of Indulgence, 1688.**

In July, 1687, James dissolved Parliament. His reason for so doing was his belief that the Declaration of Indulgence would win the general support of Dissenters and that consequently a new parliament would be more favourable to royal policy than the existing one had latterly been. During the autumn James spared no pains to ensure the success of this scheme: dissenting Whigs were appointed to town corporations, and similar influence was brought to bear in the counties. In spite of all such manipulation and pressure, there seemed no likelihood of securing a favourable House of Commons, and James therefore never summoned another parliament.

(Partly in order to gain further nonconformist support and partly to carry his Romanizing campaign one stage further, in April, 1688, James issued a second Declaration of Indulgence. This differed from the first chiefly in the regulation that the Declaration should be read in every church on two successive Sundays. This was tantamount to demanding that the clergy should proclaim a principle which, being a breach of the Test Act, they regarded as both illegal and contrary to their conscience. The result was a general revolt of the clergy. In only four London churches was the Declaration read—and the congregations

of those four showed their feelings unmistakably by marching out!)

Seven Bishops. ✓

(In May, seven Bishops)—Sancroft, the Archbishop of Canterbury, and the Bishops of St. Asaph, Bath and Wells, Bristol, Chichester, Ely, and Peterborough—sent to the King a petition against the Declaration. On 8th June the seven Bishops were committed to the Tower to await trial for seditious libel. The Thames, as they passed down it to prison, was lined with boats crammed with people who cheered them and prayed for them in turns. The whole nation was profoundly moved, and James would have done well to have heeded the warning. But on 10th June a son was born to him and, interpreting this as a sign of God's favour, he decided that the prosecution should continue.)

The case was opened before the King's Bench on 29th June. After lengthy arguments by opposing lawyers, the jury was called upon for its verdict. The jury, unable to arrive at a unanimous decision, was locked up all night: actually only one of its members was in favour of a verdict of "guilty" and he was the Court brewer who feared he would lose his favour with the King if he agreed with the Bishops. (Finally) as the night wore on, the rest of the jury overcame his obstinacy and next day (30th June) (a verdict of "Not Guilty" was declared.)

The effect was a popular outburst such as occurs only a very few times in a nation's history. It was as though the whole people expressed itself in a great shout of relief and joy.) The King's first intimation of the result of the trial reached him at Hounslow, where he had just reviewed the army: the great camp gave vent to a hilarious cheer, and when James asked the meaning of it he was told that the Bishops had been acquitted!)

✱ That very day a letter, signed by seven influential men, was despatched to William of Orange, husband of James's elder daughter Mary, inviting him to bring an army to

sustain the liberties of England.) In order to understand William's position and his final acceptance of the invitation, we have to trace England's foreign relationships during James's reign.

4. THE PROTESTANT REVOLUTION

European Situation.

We last left the trend of affairs on the Continent at the point at which England, by the Treaty of Westminster (1674), withdrew from the second Dutch War of the reign of Charles II. Since then, Louis XIV's position in Europe had been modified by three events. First, England's withdrawal did not end the war but it did seriously weaken Louis by leaving him almost isolated in his struggle against Holland and her allies. Consequently, though the war continued until 1678, the Peace of Nimwegen in that year allowed the Dutch to retain all their territory intact. Louis acquired certain valuable lands on his eastern frontier, but his main objective—the crushing of Holland—had been foiled. The root explanation of his failure was that the other Powers of Europe had realized that the French threat against Holland was a threat against them also and they had therefore allied together to ward off the menace. If Louis had been wise he would have recognized that a renewal of his attack would provoke a renewal of the European alliance.

Second, Louis aroused widespread antipathy among the Protestants of Europe by the treatment of his Huguenot subjects. From the early years of his reign he had done his utmost to encourage the Huguenots to secede to Roman Catholicism: petty tyrannies exercised by local authorities and rewards granted to converts resulted in a certain number of "conversions". But the mass of the Huguenots remained quietly unmoved. Their liberties were secured by the Edict of Nantes,¹ whereby in 1598 Henry IV had granted to Huguenots freedom of conscience and the right

¹ Chapter XI, Section 3.

of private worship throughout France, the right of public worship in certain specified districts, and political equality with Roman Catholics. These concessions were regarded with great jealousy by the rest of the French nation, and Louis determined to undermine them. From 1675 onwards he exerted much greater pressure than hitherto upon the Huguenots: they were subject to such disadvantages as exclusion from government offices and the quartering of soldiers upon them. Then in 1685 Louis revoked the Edict of Nantes itself and instituted a large-scale persecution of the Huguenots: torture was imposed, women were sent to nunneries, and men became slaves in galleys. That this treatment might not fail in its object, regulations forbade Huguenots to leave France. Nevertheless, though the ports and the frontiers were closely guarded, four hundred thousand Huguenots made good their escape and were welcomed in Protestant England, Holland and Brandenburg. These people were among the most industrious of the French nation, and France did herself irreparable harm by compelling them to take their skill to her enemies. The immediate effect of the persecution was that the hatred of European Protestants against France was intensified: not only was their sympathy evoked on behalf of their fellows, but Louis' treatment of the Huguenots was an object-lesson of what would follow his conquest of other Protestant states. Accordingly, those states waited anxiously for the first sign that Louis was renewing his European offensive.

Third, the result of this anxiety was that in 1686—that is, in the year following the revocation of the Edict of Nantes—William III of Orange had been able to form another alliance against Louis. This alliance, known as the League of Augsburg, included not only the Protestant United Netherlands and Sweden but also such states as the Empire, Spain and Bavaria. In spite of the seriousness of the threat to France, Louis took no decisive step against the League until 1688. Affairs were in this condition

when William III of Orange was invited to lead an army to England.

✓ Attitude of William III.

William was attracted by the invitation not because he was ambitious for the English throne for its own sake but because possession of that throne would ensure an English alliance with Holland against France. But he was faced by two difficulties. First, the landing of Dutch troops in England might be resented by the English people as a foreign invasion and so might rally the bulk of the nation to James. The strongest obstacle to the nation's thus rallying to James was provided by the birth of the Prince of Wales on 10th June. Hitherto the main body of moderate opinion in England had not favoured overt action against James because his successor would be his daughter Mary, who was not only a Protestant but was the wife of William of Orange. The unexpected birth of a son to James upset all these calculations. The boy would be brought up as a Roman Catholic and with all the Stuart notions of Divine Right, and, if England was to avoid being permanently subject to a Roman Catholic autocracy, immediate action was essential. Stories that the Prince was not the son of James and Mary of Modena became prevalent; the commonly accepted explanation of his appearance was that he was someone else's baby that had been smuggled into the Palace in a warming-pan so as to provide a succession which would exclude the Princesses Mary and Anne. This story was generally accepted as true, and even the Princess Anne is reputed to have believed it. The baby Prince therefore became known as the Pretender, though he is now generally recognized as the son of James and Mary of Modena. Whatever the truth of his parentage may have been, his arrival transformed the political situation. Many men who would have been prepared to wait until James's death naturally ended the Roman Catholic tyranny of the Stuarts now saw that the

Pretender must be kept off the throne and that the surest way to this end was the removal of James II. Herein lay William's greatest security that he would not be actively resisted by the mass of the nation. The tangible evidence of this security was the letter of invitation which was sent by seven representative men on 30th June, and he immediately began to prepare to invade England.)

But a second difficulty lay in the way of the invasion, namely, that by 1688 Louis XIV had gathered a great army and was watching Holland. Hence, the moment William sailed with an army his country would be overrun by the French who would then be free to support James in England and so the cause of Protestantism would be ruined.

William Lands in England.

In August, Louis warned James of the danger in which he stood and offered French help. To this offer James returned an indignant and disdainful refusal: he feared that open support from France would still further alienate the English and he scorned to acknowledge his dependence upon Louis. The latter resented the rebuff and resolved to teach James a lesson. In September the opportunity of doing so was presented through the death of the Elector of Cologne. Louis decided to secure the appointment of his own nominee to this strategic Electorate on the Rhine, and for this purpose he moved away from the Dutch frontier and into Germany. This action proved to be a decisive factor in English history. Louis' real object was to show James his helplessness without French support and so, for the future, to secure the alliance of England. But the invasion of Germany proved to be the crowning blunder of Louis' reign: he soon found himself engaged so seriously in his campaign that he could spare no help to James, and William seized the moment to carry out his project of invading England.

On 10th October, William issued a declaration in which, after enumerating James's unconstitutional actions, he

stated that, as the husband of the heiress to the throne and at the request of many lords, he was about to lead an armed force to England to secure the election of a free parliament. James immediately took fright and tried to secure himself by making a number of hasty concessions, such as the restoration of the fellows of Magdalen College and promises to maintain the Act of Uniformity and to exclude Roman Catholics from Parliament. No one placed any reliance upon his pledges: his past life belied the genuineness of his promises.

On 1st November William set sail from Holland and made for the Yorkshire coast. Instead of landing there, he sailed up the Channel before a favourable wind which, suddenly veering at a critical moment, blew him into Torbay, where he went ashore on 5th November. James gathered his army at Salisbury, but resistance was soon seen to be hopeless: the desertion of the King's most prominent supporters made decisive action impossible. William's recruits included Churchill, the ablest English soldier and future Duke of Marlborough, and the Princess Anne. From Exeter, William marched steadily towards London, and James became convinced that his only course was flight. Early in December he hastily left London and made for the coast. William was greatly relieved to hear the news, for he had no desire either to be embarrassed by his father-in-law's presence in England or to turn him into a martyr. Unfortunately for William, the misplaced zeal of some fishermen led to James's return, and William had to make him a prisoner. But William took care that the guard kept on James should be light enough to facilitate a second flight, and a few days later the King made good his escape to France, where he was chivalrously received and entertained by Louis.

Convention Parliament.

The initial difficulties of landing in England and of disposing with James were thus overcome; but more

serious problems still awaited solution. The country was without both king and parliament: no parliament could be called together except by a king, yet no man could be legally recognized as king except by a parliament. A way out of this dilemma was found by William following the precedent set at the restoration of Charles II: he summoned a Convention which, being freely elected, was a parliament in everything but name. The Convention met on 22nd January, 1689, and began its work of arranging for the permanent government of the State. This work consisted of two parts, namely, to settle the succession to the throne and to draw up a constitution by whose terms the new monarch should rule.

If James's reign had been ended by his death instead of by his flight, he would have been succeeded by his elder daughter Mary (that is, on the assumption that the young Prince was only a "pretender"), and the simplest solution of the succession problem was to allow her to become Queen. William would thus have occupied the position of a Consort without legal powers in the State. This position William refused because he was unwilling to be inferior in rank to his wife and because if Mary had died William would have been left in an anomalous situation. On the other hand, William's claim to the throne was inferior to those of Mary and of Anne; and to have given him the crown would have broken the true line of succession and would have been unjust to the two Princesses. Finally, after prolonged debates, a compromise was reached: both Commons and Lords agreed that the throne had been rendered vacant by the flight of James and that William and Mary should reign jointly.

Declaration of Rights, February, 1689.

This provision was incorporated in the Declaration of Rights which contained also the conditions on which the crown was to be conferred upon the new sovereigns. The Declaration stated as illegal:

1. The Dispensing Power "as exercised of late" and the pretended Suspending Power.
2. The Court of High Commission and similar courts.
3. The levying of taxes without Parliament's consent.
4. A standing army in time of peace without Parliament's consent.
5. The questioning, outside Parliament, of freedom of speech exercised during debates in the Houses.

Significance of the Revolution.

The acceptance of the Declaration by William and Mary was tantamount to a promise that they would rule in accordance with the conditions laid down in that document. The renunciation of the practices that had been the chief instruments of the absolutism which the four previous Stuarts had claimed justified the title of "Revolution" by which the change from James II to William III and Mary II has ever since been known. To the Whigs it was the "Glorious Revolution" because it marked the triumph of the basic Whig principle of a Constitutional Monarchy, that is, of a monarchy in which the king ruled not by virtue of his personal power but according to the terms of a constitution.

The wider significance of the Declaration of Rights is realized only when we compare its provisions with the causes of quarrel between the Stuarts and Parliament as outlined in Section 2 of Chapter X. That quarrel concerned the right to impose taxation, to exercise freedom of speech in Parliament, to control ministers of State, and to negotiate foreign affairs. Of these causes of dispute between the Stuarts and Parliament, the Revolution of 1688 settled the first two in Parliament's favour. Further, supremacy in finance gave to Parliament a larger measure of control on other State business: for example, henceforward the King would be unable to engage in foreign war unless Parliament granted to him the necessary supplies. The other causes of friction still needed to be dealt

with—the Act of Settlement (1701), for example, ensured that ministers of State should be responsible to Parliament—but the essential principle that the King should rule according to a constitution was definitely established.

One further aspect of the constitutional significance of the Declaration of Rights needs to be mentioned. We have seen that the questions at issue were all provoked by the Stuarts' claim to rule by Divine Right. After the Revolution, no monarch could make that claim, for two reasons. First, Divine Right was supposed to pass from one monarch to the next in strict hereditary succession, but, as the monarchs who accepted the Declaration of Rights were not in the direct line, they could not claim to possess Divine Right. Second, no man who reigned by virtue of a bargain made with his subjects could assert also that he reigned by Divine Right, for the essence of that theory was that the King was appointed by and responsible to God alone.

Thus the accession of William and Mary marks the end of one constitutional period of English history and the opening of another. This must not be interpreted to mean that after the Revolution the monarch lost all effective power in the State. On the contrary, he long continued to exert much personal influence on State policy—and even to-day he is not a mere figure-head, as we are sometimes apt to suppose—but instead of ruling by Royal Prerogative he ruled through Parliament. As time passed, this meant that he governed in accordance with the parliamentary majority, and so the way was opened for the development of the Cabinet System which is the distinguishing characteristic of the British Constitution.

DATES.	DOMESTIC EVENTS.	SOVE- REIGNS.	EVENTS ABROAD.	DATES.
1485	Battle of Bosworth.	VII. HENRY		—
1486	Henry's Marriage.			—
1487	Star Chamber Court.			—
—				—
—			Treaty of Medina del Campo.	1489
—				—
—			Columbus to W. Indies.	1492
—				—
1494	Poyning's Laws.		Pope's Line of Arbitration.	1494
—				—
—			Intercursus Magnus.	1496
1497	Warbeck's Revolt ends.		Vasco da Gama & Cabot.	1497
—				—
—				—
1501	Arthur marries Catherine.			—
1502	Prince Arthur dies.			—
1503	Margaret marries James IV.			—
—				—
—			Intercursus Malus.	1506
—				—
—				—
1509	Henry marries Catherine.	VIII. HENRY		—
—				—
—			Holy League.	1511
—			Guienne Campaign.	1512
1513	Battle of Flodden.		Battle of the Spurs.	1513
1514	Trinity House Establish'd.		Mary marries Louis XII.	1514
1515	Wolsey Chancellor & Cardin ^l .		Francis I, King of France.	1515
1516	Princess Mary born.		Erasmus' Greek N.T.	1516
1517	Wolsey's Enclosure Comm ⁿ .		Luther's "95 Theses".	1517
—				—
—			Charles V becomes Emp ^r .	1519
—			Field of Cloth of Gold.	1520
—			Luther at Worms.	1521
—				—
—				—
1525	Tyndale's Translation.		Battle of Pavia.	1525
—				—
—			Sack of Rome.	1527
—				—
1529	Divorce suit opens in Eng ^d .			—
1530	Wolsey's death.			—
—				—
1532	Act of Annates.			—
1533	Act of Appeals.			—
1534	Act of Supremacy.			—
1535	More & Fisher executed.			—
1536	Smaller monasteries dissolv'd			—

DATES	DOMESTIC EVENTS.	SOVE- REIGNS.	EVENTS ABROAD.	DATES
1536	Pilgrimage of Grace.	HENRY VIII.		—
1537	Prince Edward born.			—
—				—
1539	Act of Six Articles.			—
1540	Fall of Cromwell.		Soc ^y of Jesus established.	1540
—				—
1542	Battle of Solway Moss.			—
—				—
1544	Third Succession Act.			—
—			Council of Trent opens.	1546
1547	Battle of Pinkie.	EDWARD VI.		—
1549	First Eng: Prayer Book.			—
—				—
1552	Second Eng: Prayer Book.			—
1553	Lady Jane Grey.		Willoughby's & Chancellor's Exp ²	1553
1554	Wyatts Revolt.	MARY.		—
1555	Latimer & Ridley burned.		Philip II King of Spain.	1556
1556	Cranmer burned		Loss of Calais.	1558
—			Treaty of Edinburgh.	1560
1559	Acts- Supremacy & Uniformity.		Hawkin's 1 st Slaving Voyage.	1562
1561	Mary returns to Scotland.	ELIZABETH.		—
1563	Statute of Artificers.			—
1564	Shakespeare born.			—
1565	Mary marries Darnley.			—
—			Netherlands Revolt.	1567
1567	Darnley murdered.			—
1568	Mary escapes to England.			—
1569	Rising of Northern Earls.			—
1570	Elizabeth excommunicated.			—
1571	Thirty-nine Articles.		Massacre of St: Bartholomew.	1572
—				—
—				—
1576	First London Theatre.		Frobisher's, 1 st N.W. Voyage.	1576
—			Drake's Circumnavigation begins	1577
—				—
1579	Irish Rebellion.		Drake's Return & Knighthood.	1580
—				—
1583	Throgmorton's Plot.		Gilbert's 1 st Newfoundland Sett ^{l^{mt}}	1583
1584	"The Association".		Death of D. of Alençon.	1584
1585	Leicester goes to Netherlands		Virginia First Settlement.	1585
1586	Babington's Plot.			—
1587	Mary Stuart Executed.			—
1588	Spanish Armada.		Spanish Armada.	1588

DATES	DOMESTIC EVENTS.	SOVE-REIGNS.	EVENTS ABROAD.	DATES.
1588	Spanish Armada.	ELIZABETH	Spanish Armada.	1588
—			Henry IV, King of France	1589
1590	Spenser's "Faerie Queen."		Grenville & "The Revenge."	1591
—				—
—				—
—				—
1595	Hawkins dies.			—
1596	Drake dies.			—
1597	Globe Theatre opened.			—
1598	Burghley dies.		Edict of Nantes.	1598
1599	Essex sent to Ireland.	JAMES I		—
—				—
1601	Poor Law.			—
—				—
1603	Bye & Main Plots.			—
1604	Hampton Ct. Conference.			—
1605	Gunpowder Plot.			—
1606	Bate's Case		Virginia permanently settled,	1607
—				—
—			Surat - E.I.C's Factory.	1609
—			Henry IV murdered.	1610
1611	Authorized Version of Bible.	JAMES I		—
1612	Cecil & Prince Henry die.			—
—				—
1614	Added "Parliament.			—
—				—
1616	Shakespeare dies.			—
—				—
1618	Raleigh Executed.		Thirty Years' War opens.	1618
—				—
1620	Pilgrim Fathers.		Pilgrim Fathers.	1620
1621	Fall of Bacon	CHARLES I		—
—				—
—				—
—				—
—			Cadiz Expedition	1625
1626	Buckingham first impeached.			—
1627	Five Knights' Case.		Expedition to La Rochelle.	1627
1628	Petition of Right.			—
1629	Third Parliament dissolved.		Massachusetts Founded.	1630
—				—
—			Connecticut Founded.	1632
1633	Wentworth, Ld. Deputy; Laud, Arch		Maryland Founded.	1634
—				—
—				—
1637	Hampden's Ship-Money Case.			—
1638	Scottish Nat ^l Covenant.			—
1639	First Bishops' War.		Madras - E.I.C's Factory	1639
1640	Long Parliament.			—

DATES	DOMESTIC EVENTS.	SOVE- REIGNS	EVENTS ABROAD.	DATES
1640	Long Parliament.	CHARLES I		—
1641	Triennial & Oath Consent Acts.			—
1642	Civil War begins.			—
1643	Parl ^t allies with Scots.			—
1644	Battle of Marston Moor.			—
1645	New Model & Naseby.			—
1646	Newcastle Propositions.			—
1647	Heads of the Proposals.			—
1648	Second Civil War: Rump Parl ^t		Treaty of Westphalia.	1648
—		COMMONWEALTH		—
1650	Battle of Dunbar.			—
1651	Worcester: Navigation Act.			—
—			Battle nr. Dungeness.	1652
1653	Instrument of Government.		Battle nr Portland. Dutch War	1653
1654	1 st Protectorate Parliament.		Treaty of Westminster.	1654
1655	Major-Generals.		Jamaica captured.	1655
1656	2 nd Protectorate Parliament.			—
1657	Humble Petition & Advice.		Blake at Santa Cruz. Spanish War.	1657
1658	Oliver Cromwell dies.		Battle of the Dunes.	1658
—		II		1659
1660	Navigation Act.			—
1661	Corporation Act.			—
1662	Act of Uniformity.			—
—			Carolina Founded.	1663
1664	Conventicle Act.		New York & New Jersey capt.d	1664
1665	Gt. Plague; Five Mile Act.		Battle off Lowestoft. Dutch War	1665
1666	Gt. Fire.		Battle off the Dunes.	1666
1667	Fall of Clarendon.		Dutch in Medway	1667
—			Bombay - E.I.C's possession.	1668
—		CHARLES II		—
1670	Treaty of Dover.		Treaty of Dover.	1670
—				—
1672	Declaration of Indulgence.			1672
1673	Test Act: End of Cabal		Dutch War.	—
—				1674
—				—
1677	Princ ^{ss} Mary marries Wm. of Orange.			—
1678	Popish Plot.		Treaty of Nimewegen,	1678
1679	Fall of Danby: 1 st Short Parl ^t .			—
1680	2 nd Short Parl ^t .			—
1681	3 rd Short Parl ^t .			—
—		JAMES II		—
1683	Rye House Plot.		Pennsylvania Founded.	1682
—				—
1685	Monmouth's Rebellion.			—
1686	Cr. of Ecclesiastical Commiss ⁿ .		League of Augsburg.	1686
1687	Declaration of Indulgence.	WM. III & MARY II		—
1688	Trial of Seven Bishops			—
1689	Bill of Rights.		England joins Lg. of Augsburg	1689
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